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ABSTRACT

This case study investigated teaching experience in an elementary school with 425 pupils and 14 teachers. The study views teaching not only in the context of the classroom but also in the organizational context of the school and school district and in the sociocultural context of the community. It is an ethnographic study concerned with the interdependence of teaching behavior, beliefs about the teacher's role, and institutional settings. Specifically, it deals with the cultural processes that define and structure the role of the teacher as technician and socialization agent and with teachers' responses to such processes. The impression produced by the study is that teachers evolve responses to all levels of their occupational experience--ideological, organizational, and interpersonal--in relative isolation. This contextual isolation is shown to exist because there is no functioning relationship between the process of teaching and the ideological and organizational framework in which teaching takes place. (Author)

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STANFORD CENTER
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
IN TEACHING

Technical Report No. 35

THE TEACHING EXPERIENCE IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY

Richard L. Warren

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Introductory Statement

The Center's mission is to improve teaching in American schools. Too many teachers still employ a didactic style aimed at filling passive students with facts. The teacher's environment often prevents him from changing his style, and may indeed drive him out of the profession. And the children of the poor typically suffer from the worst teaching.

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The study presented here was conducted during an earlier stage of the program on the Environment for Teaching.

Acknowledgments

Fieldwork at Calhoun Elementary School was conducted from 1967 to 1970, the major portion of the work being completed during the first year. The research was carried out under the auspices of the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching and funded by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under the provisions of the Cooperative Research Program. The support and encouragement of numerous colleagues at the Center, where I was at the time a Research Associate, are gratefully acknowledged.

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Pseudonyms are used for all names, but of course the people in the study are individuals whom I came to know and who graciously accepted my intrusions. I am deeply indebted to the Calhoun teachers and principal for their cooperation and good-humored tolerance of my constant presence. I wish also to thank the Superintendent of the Dennison School District for permission to conduct the study.

The encouragement of my wife and her careful and critical reading of earlier drafts give me a sense of collaboration which has great personal satisfaction.

Abstract

This report summarizes a case study of the teaching experience in an elementary school. The study is primarily a description of the experience of teachers at "Calhoun," an elementary school (K-6) with 425 pupils and 14 teachers in "Dennison," a western city of 100,000 people. The study began in 1967-68, and the fieldwork was completed in 1970. It views teaching not only in the context of the classroom but also in the organizational context of the school and school district and in the sociocultural context of the community.

In its conception and method the study is essentially ethnographic. In general, it is concerned with the interdependence of teaching behavior, beliefs about the teacher's role, and institutional settings; more specifically, it deals with the cultural processes that define and structure the role of the teacher as both technician and socialization agent, and with teachers' responses to such processes.

The cumulative impression produced by the study is an awareness that teachers evolve responses to all levels of their occupational experience--ideological, organizational, and interpersonal--in relative isolation. This contextual isolation is shown to exist because (at least in Dennison) there is no functioning relationship between the process of teaching and the ideological and organizational framework in which teaching takes place.

Contents

Introduction 1

I. Teachers and Classroom Life 5

The First Grade: The First Four Weeks of School 5
The Sixth Grade 23
Classroom Life 25
Extracurricular Responsibilities 35
Attitudes toward Autonomy 38

II. Teachers and Parents 44

The District Context of Parent-Teacher Relations 49
Patterns of Parent-Teacher Contacts 52
Incidents of Parent-Teacher Conflict 55
Contacts through Celebrations 58
The Parent-Teacher Organization 61
Meetings 63
Conflict in the PTC: Background 67
Conflict in the PTC: The Wine-Tasting Party 69
Conflict in the PTC: The Carnival 70
Analysis of Parent-Teacher Relations 76

III. Teachers and the Principal 80

Becoming Principal at Calhoun 80
Selecting Teachers 82
Assigning Teachers to Classes 86
Evaluating Teachers 91
Retaining Good Teachers, Eliminating Poor Ones. 100
Teacher Obligations and School Routine. 103
Pronouncements: The First Faculty Meeting 103
Adaptations 107
Managing and Sorting Students 110
Meetings 114
At School. 114
Away from School 119
The Summer. 120

IV. Teachers and the District 123

The Employment Process and Benefits 123
District Regulations. 126

Contents--Cont'd.

Orientation 130
Teachers and Specialists 136
Reading Specialist 137
Psychologist 139
Speech Therapist 140
School Nurse 141
Music Specialist 143
Teachers and Representation 144
The Representative Assembly 144
The Dennison Unified District Teachers' Association . 150
The Dennison Federation of Teachers 154
Teachers and the School Board 156
Teachers and the News Media 160

Summary 163

Appendix A. Criteria and Explanation Sheet to Accompany the Teacher Evaluation Form 165

Appendix B. News Coverage of Grievance Charges 169

THE TEACHING EXPERIENCE IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

A CASE STUDY

Richard L. Warren

Introduction

Much of what we know about teaching derives from studies of teacher behavior in the classroom. The routine and traditionally self-contained characteristics of classroom life make teacher behavior in that setting readily accessible to observation by researchers. However, teaching proceeds within broader contexts than the classroom--namely, the organizational context of the school and the district, and the sociocultural context defined by the constituent families and the community. Within these settings a teacher also experiences significant events and relationships, often disparate and unpredictable and not conveniently amenable to systematic research. Therefore, the concern of this study is not teaching as such, a term which generally suggests classroom life, but the teaching experience that is the occupational world of the teacher in all its manifestations.

In its conception and method the study is essentially ethnographic. The focus is on a holistic rendition of the teaching experience. The study is concerned with the interdependence and integration of behavior, belief, and institutional characteristics in the context in which the teaching experience takes place; more specifically, it examines the cultural processes that define and structure the teacher's role as technician and socialization agent--and the teacher's responses to those processes.

Teachers do not lack instruction about culturally appropriate goals and modes of behavior. They are exhorted by a noisy population of administrators, specialists, parents, school board members, professors, and colleagues. Traditionally their public behavior, outside the classroom and the school, has been constrained by social norms that define the

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The author was a Research and Development Associate at SCRDT when he conducted this study. He is now Chairman of the Department of Social and Philosophical Studies in Education at the University of Kentucky.

teacher as a cultural model. Because of the central, culture-affirming role we attribute to teachers, we assume their classroom behavior is also subject to cultural surveillance. In fact, we make certain that the classroom is not an impregnable sanctuary. Legal sanctions establish teachers' responsiblity for the physical safety and well-being of pupils under their supervision. Ideological pressures from the community affect their choice of curricular materials. Irresponsible classroom management provokes administrative intervention; colleagues' attitudes influence teacher behavior. And pupils, too, constitute a sociocultural force to which teachers must respond.

However, all attempts at surveillance and control establish and reinforce only gross boundaries for the role of the teacher.[1] Central to this study is the thesis that teachers evolve responses to all levels of their occupational experience--ideological, organizational, and interpersonal --in relative isolation. I refer not to the spatial-social isolation of the self-contained classroom, but rather to a contextual isolation. By contextual I mean the organizational and ideological framework in which teaching takes place; by isolation I mean the relative absence of a functioning relationship between that framework and the process of teaching. A fundamental characteristic of education in our culture is the discrepancy between our facility in articulating norms and values appropriate to teaching and our inability to intervene effectively to make such norms and values operable. This discrepancy is central to the teaching role and from the teacher's point of view is experienced as contextual isolation.

Calhoun is one of 34 elementary schools in Dennison, a rapidly growing suburban-industrial city of 100,000 in a metropolitan area of the western United States.[2] Dennison was founded in 1956 when five adjoining communities merged. Calhoun's constituency is defined by the school's attendance boundaries. Because Calhoun is located in the most rural part

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[1] This point of view is explicated in Richard L. Warren, "The Classroom as a Sanctuary for Teachers: Discontinuities in Social Control," American Anthropologist, Vol. 75, No. 1, February 1973. The article draws upon data from this study and from a previous study by the author, Education in Rebhausen: A German Village (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

[2] The description of Calhoun, of Dennison, and of Calhoun's constituency is based on data gathered in 1967-68.

of the city, its attendance area is geographically the largest in the district and includes both farmland (primarily truck farming and nurseries) and new housing tracts. Nineteen percent of Calhoun's families live in houses on relatively unimproved streets that connect with the main thoroughfare and offer access to the farmlands. About 25 percent of the families in this area are engaged in farming. Included in this number are farm owners, supervising personnel, and migrant workers. The other families are engaged in a wide range of professional, semi-skilled, and unskilled occupations. Over 80 percent of Calhoun's families live in the Evergreen housing tract, a five-year-old development of $18,000 to $22,000 houses. Most of the residents of the tract have lower-middle-class jobs--they are skilled or semi-skilled factory workers, building trades workers, and the like.

The typical family is young and mobile. One-third of the parents are under thirty years of age. The average number of children in each family is 2.8. Fifty percent of the parents were born outside the state, another 11 percent outside the country. Seventy-five percent of the families have lived in the community less than three years. Over 80 percent of the families have moved at least twice since their oldest child was born; 25 percent have moved more than five times. Approximately 33 percent of both fathers and mothers did not complete high school. High school graduation marked the termination of formal education for 48 percent of mothers and 31 percent of fathers. Only 7 percent of the fathers completed college and/or graduate studies.

Calhoun has an enrollment of 425 pupils, in kindergarten through sixth grade. The faculty of fourteen teachers (3 male, 11 female) is, like the parents, young and mobile. The teachers' average age is twenty-nine, and their average length of teaching experience is three years. Half of them have been residents of the state less than three years. At the end of the first year of the study, six women teachers left the school. All of the teachers have a bachelor's degree in elementary education; no one has achieved a master's degree but several teachers are working toward that goal.

To the extent that the teachers and the principal emerge in this study as individuals, I believe the portraits to be fairly drawn, although

from their standpoint there may well be missing data which I did not find possible to include or did not obtain. They have understandable reasons to be sensitive about this point, since serious questions are being raised nationwide about the quality of schooling and its relationship to the social crises we face.

Critics of public education accuse schools of being unresponsive to social and technological change and indifferent to the rights and needs of students, especially racial and ethnic minorities. One enduring and currently well-publicized explanation of this failure is teachers themselves, who are pictured by some critics as a plodding, insensitive, unimaginative lot. We may reject this characterization, but, since we have all been required to attend school, we are likely to have had some bad experiences with teachers. We are also likely to believe that we can recognize good teaching. Hence, a researcher who enters a school in his own culture encounters a familiar scene, and he may, without great strain on his image of scholarly endeavor, indulge in righteous indignation about what he finds there. This feeling can be hazardous to research, but at the same time it can remind us of the vulnerability of teachers. Further, because of the pronounced discrepancy in schools between the ideal and the real, even the most neutral description carries evaluative connotations. It is difficult to say what <u>is</u> without saying what's "wrong." I hope that in spite of these problems this study communicates the complexity of what I believe to be one of the most difficult and demanding occupations in our culture.

CHAPTER I. TEACHERS AND CLASSROOM LIFE

Extensive data have been collected on the background, behavior, and attitudes of each teacher at Calhoun through observations, structured interviews, informal conversations, and questionnaires. This chapter offers profiles of two teachers; in subsequent chapters other members of the faculty are introduced in the context of particular events or relationships. When relevant, the dominant attitudes and behavioral patterns of the faculty as a group are characterized.

The profiles in this chapter "frame" the teaching experience at Calhoun. Karen Albright is a first grade teacher. How she proceeds and what she attends to are questions important to understanding the responsibilities for socialization in these early years that she accepts. Chris Uhlan teaches the sixth grade, the final year at Calhoun. He is obliged to certify the ability of his pupils to function in junior high.

The First Grade: The First Four Weeks of School

The first day of school for Calhoun first graders is the fifth day for the teachers, whose school year begins with three days of district-organized orientation and planning sessions followed by a workday in the classroom, organizing curricular materials and arranging displays. So Karen Albright's room is ready when she arrives at 8:15 on a Monday morning to begin the year with her section of first graders. Her class is the strongest of the three sections; pupil assignments were based on the recommendations of kindergarten teachers and on Metropolitan Readiness Test scores. Most first graders have already spent one year at Calhoun and, if they have Karen as a teacher, are moving to a classroom immediately adjacent to the kindergarten unit.

Each first grade classroom has by the door a list of the pupils assigned to it. By 8:30 a small crowd has collected in front of each classroom--mothers, fathers, and children, standing self-consciously or moving about inspecting the playground equipment, talking in small groups. At 8:45, when school is supposed to begin, children are still arriving.

There is a traffic jam in the school driveway and parking lot, since many parents have driven their children to school instead of putting them on the bus. When the buses arrive they have to wait for the jam to clear.

At 8:50 Karen appears at the classroom door and begins calling the roll. As each child steps forward she pins his nametag on and tells him to go find his name at one of the desks and sit down.

First Period

9:00 The children are in the classroom. Three mothers are standing at the back. Karen turns to them and says, "Good-bye, mothers," and waves. They leave.

9:05 The mothers are gone and Karen is ready to begin. She organizes the routine for getting the children to hang up their sweaters and put away their lunch boxes. The other two rows are to remain quiet while the first row is up. As the last boy hangs up his jacket and skips back to his seat, she says: "No running in the classroom. Running on the playground and walking in the classroom." When this routine is completed she talks to the children about why they have come to school this year. The conversation is animated, and Karen says: "Raise your hand, please, before you speak." The children respond with remarks such as "to listen," "to learn," "to read." While this discussion is going on, one boy is crying. He asks for his mother but gradually calms down. Karen pays no attention to him except when he becomes particularly loud. Then she tells him to be quiet. She emphasizes that part of learning will be asking and answering questions, but she won't expect them to know all the answers. They should know that she doesn't know all the answers either. She points out that they probably ask questions their parents can't answer, so she doesn't expect them to think that she is dumb because she can't answer a question. She certainly is not going to think they are dumb because they can't answer a question, because, she says, "Of course, you are not dumb."

9:18 She has them stand up behind their seats and "touch the sky." They do a series of stretching exercises accompanied by instructions in the form of a poem which she reads to them.

9:20 She cautions a pupil who is talking to a friend. "Don't talk unless there is something that all should hear."

9:21 Her admonition leads to the question of telling on other people. She begins by asking, "What is a tattletale?" One pupil finally says it's someone who tells on people. The teacher answers: "I don't like tattletales, but there are things you

should tell me. This we'll have to learn in a hurry. That is, when you should tell me something; for example, when someone hits you or trips you."

9:23 Karen continues: "Now I am going to talk to you about rules." She asks them what a rule is and a pupil says, "What mother tells you to do." Karen asks. "What is another name for rules that Mommy and Daddy follow?" No one answers. Karen supplies the answer with a question, "How about laws, for example, traffic laws for speeding and so on?" Then she says, "So we have laws here at the school, too, and there are some that you need to learn real fast, so I am going to tell them to you. Is everybody ready to be a good listener? Recess is coming so we are going to have to hurry. But we have just enough time to talk about playground rules." She proceeds:

"1. Don't play in the field on the other side of the fence; that's for the upper grades. Stay on this side where the asphalt is and where the tanbark play area (an area thickly covered with redwood chips) is.

"2. Don't go into the area behind the portable classrooms or in between. They have class there when you have recess and you would be disturbing them.

"3. You are never to play beyond the parking area side of the school.

"4. No bikes are to be ridden to school. The street is too busy.

"5. If you bring knives and matches to school, they are mine, that is, they are mine to give to the principal, then they become his. Just don't bring them.

"6. I guess you like to throw tanbark and rocks and things, but don't throw things. Don't throw tanbark.

"7. There is also a rule against fighting. Really any kind of fighting. Don't get involved even in play-fighting.

"8. Don't push in line at the fountain, someone might get a tooth knocked out.

"9. Only one person at a time on the swing. You'll have to stand in line behind the board if you want a turn and each person should take only about 25 times so that others will have a chance.

"10. When the bell rings for the end of recess, you freeze and wait without moving until the teacher blows her whistle. When she blows the whistle, you walk to your classroom and get in line by the door."

When she is finished, she calls them to the door by rows, with the boys in one line and the girls in another. She chooses a boy and a girl to be the head of each line. While they are waiting for the recess bell to ring she tells them recess is always a time to go to the bathroom and she will expect them to do that. She tells the two at the head of the lines to lead them to the bathrooms.

9:35 The bell rings. She dismisses the class for recess and goes to the faculty room.

Second Period

9:45 At the end of recess, the children are lined up waiting to go inside, the boys in one line, girls in another. Some are talking as Karen approaches. She says, "Remember recess is over. It's time for you to stop talking and to put your hands down at your sides so that they are not out where they can bother your neighbors."

9:50 She reminds them again that they are no longer in kindergarten, but in the first grade. They are growing up and must remember to go to the bathroom during recess.

9:55 She tells them to stand up because it's time to say the pledge to the flag. In the far corner of the room there is an American flag and the state flag. She asks them if they know where to hold their hands. No one does and she tells them over the heart. They put their hands over their hearts, face the flag and she leads them in the pledge, which most of them seem to know.

9:59 Karen begins collecting lunch money. Those who are going to buy a hot lunch bring the money to her desk and she records their payment. She cautions them against losing their money or putting it on a desk where someone might pick it up. She says that some people like to take money and that some of the bigger boys and girls have been doing that.

10:01 While she is collecting lunch money, several children begin to talk with each other and she says: "I hear some talking and it really isn't recess yet."

10:04 A boy beings to drum on the table and she says, "I hear someone playing drums--I thought we had desks in this room and not drums.

10:05 She announces that they are going to elect officers and asks the class what an officer does. One boy answers that he directs traffic. Karen asks why they think the class needs officers. A pupil says, "To quiet down the drums." Karen says, "Well let me give you a hint. One of the officers will be a president. Now, what do you think he does?" A pupil answers, "He is a helper." The teacher continues. "Each week we'll elect a group of officers and each week we'll have a new group on Monday. The main duties of the president will be to call the meeting to order each day and to see that the other officers do the things they have responsibility for doing. We are going to hold our elections as follows: You choose or nominate three people that you think would make a good president. Then, those three people will leave the room and the rest of you will put heads down on your desks and raise your hand when I give you the name of one of the three. This is called a secret ballot. The person who gets the most number of hands is president for the first week. Then, when we have elected a president, he in turn will appoint the next officer and then that officer will appoint the next and so on until all the officers for the week are appointed. Now, is there anyone who wants to nominate someone? Is there anyone who knows someone from kindergarten who would be a good president?" Scott Anderson is elected president, and he in turn appoints the flagleader, who appoints the messenger, who appoints the girl-leader, who appoints the boy-leader, who appoints the door person, who appoints the lights person, who appoints a substitute to take the place of anyone who is absent.

10:20 In the course of the elections, student's chairs have moved a little and the teacher observes that one row is getting crooked and asks them to straighten out the row.

10:27 She calls roll.

10:28 The upper grades' bell goes off and those children appear for recess. Karen tells them to keep their eyes in this classroom and not out there with the fourth grade. She says if too many of them look out, she'll have to pull the dirty, old curtains and drapes and cut off the beautiful sunlight and fresh air.

10:30 She leads them through the stretching exercises again.

10:33 She tells them that at the end of the day they will discuss all the things they've done, so that when they get home, they won't just tell their parents they played all day long. She says: "Be thinking of all the things you have done during the day, so you'll be ready for that discussion."

10:36 Recess is approaching and she asks them questions about their behavior during the first recess: "How many of you threw tanbark? How many of you used the swing? How many of you got a drink? How many of you saw a big brother or sister and hung around them during recess? Now, let the older brothers and sisters play with their friends and you play with your new friends in the first grade. You are growing up now and don't need to be watched over so much by an older brother or sister. It is time for you to make new friends." She pauses and asks: "Anyone without a friend? Anyone who is really new?" One girl and one boy raise their hands. So she says: "All right, the rest of you in the class will want to help them make friends."

10:40 It is time for recess. Karen announces: "The quietest row will get in line first."

Third Period

11:00 End of recess. Karen and I return from coffee and she immediately berates a boy who is running around instead of standing quietly in line.

11:01 Karen tells the children not to play with the name tags on the desks. They become loose and she has to scotchtape them back on or write new ones.

11:03 She says: "I know you're anxious to have something in your desk and I am going to start with a pencil. Remember, this is not a needle that you get a shot with, but it's a pencil to write with and not to poke someone with. Do you know what we write on with a pencil?" Some pupil answers: "Paper." She asks: "On your name tag?" The children say loudly: "No, no!" "On the desks?" The answer is no. "On the walls?" Again, no.

11:05 Karen proceeds: "I think I'll tell you a story about the pencil." She talks about taking care of the pencil, not chewing on it, not eating it, not letting it roll down the desk. When not in use the pencil is to be kept in the desk.

11:14 She announces that she is going to give out crayons saved from last year. She tells them they are not new and some may be missing, but it is better than nothing. She says: "Please don't get mad at me if you are short a crayon--don't complain."

11:17 She tells them, when they begin to use the crayons, to keep the ones they are not using in the crayon box so that there will be more space on each desk for drawing.

11:20 She holds up a red crayon and tells them to find one like it in their crayon box. Then she goes to the board and writes "red" with a small "r" and under it "Red" with a capital "R." She asks them if they can find the words in the room. With that she goes to the bulletin board and points to each display until she finally comes to a tree of colors. She points out every color except red until she gets to the very end. They know that the final one is red.

11:30 It is near lunch time so she plays "Simon Says" with them.

11:35 As the game ends one of the boys suddenly falls over backwards. Karen asks the class how many legs a chair has, how many legs humans have; how they treat their furniture at home. She says: "Whenever you fall over in your chair, you must freeze exactly as you land. That might be very uncomfortable, but that's what I want you to do because I find that that's the way to discourage people from sitting in chairs improperly."

11:38 She tells them to put their crayons away. She reminds them it's almost time for lunch and therefore she has to talk about lunch rules. (1) Those who have hot lunches go in the door by the library, get their lunches, sit down, eat, and then go out. (2) Those who have brought their own lunch will eat at the tanbark area and must be careful to throw the trash in the garbage cans. (3) In the cafeteria there is to be no talking.

11:45 They are lined up for lunch, the bell rings, and she dismisses them.

Fourth Period

12:40 Back in the room after lunch. Karen announces they will have a story each day after lunch. Then she tells them to come up very quietly a half row at a time and sit down in front of her on the floor. The story she is about to read, she says, has the title, "My Mother is the Most Beautiful Person in the World." She then asks them: "How many of you think you have beautiful or pretty mothers?" Most of the hands go up. She reads the story, which has a Russian setting. After she finishes half of it, she tells them that she will finish the other half tomorrow. She tells them that their homework for today will be to think about what they did during vacation and come prepared to talk about it tomorrow in a period they can call "sharing." One pupil says: "Why can't we call it show and tell, since that's what it's about?" She says: "Well, I suppose that's possible, but sharing is only one word and show and tell is three, so we'll use the word sharing.

Ordinarily, we'll have sharing only on Friday, but this week I thought we should have some the second day too."

1:00 She hands out ditto paper on which are to be found the figures of an apple and a mallet and some leaves. They are labeled red and are to be colored red. She tells them red is a color, writes the word on the board, and draws a line around it.

1:10 They are drawing and Karen says: "I don't want any scribbling. You may have done this in kindergarten, but you are too old for that sort of thing now." She tells them to color in one direction--when they color vertically and then horizontally, it looks too messy. By 1:20 they have completed their coloring, and she has the papers handed in in such a way that she can return them in exactly the same order. Then she says: "We are going to read." She steps to the front of the room where there is a big piece of paper on which is printed the following statements. She reads: "(1) Welcome to the first grade. (2) We are in room 3 at Calhoun. (3) Mrs. Albright is our teacher. (4) Mr. Vincent is our principal. (5) We will work and play at school. (6) First graders learn to read. (7) They tell and write stories, too."

1:25 She asks them all to stand up and read the sentences again. She points to a calendar on the side of the room--a calendar made up of a tree with different apples--and asks them to find out what day of the week it is.

1:31 She announces they will have PE, which she says is physical education. She says it is not to be confused with recess; that for physical education you get a grade on the report card, but for recess you don't.

1:43 They are back in after ten minutes of exercises and games. She says, "Now it's time to review what we have done today, so that you don't go home and tell your parents that you just played around." The pupils remember most of what went on. Then the teacher says: "Well, we forgot to sing a song. Does anyone know a good song they would like to sing?" One pupil suggests a title she does not know, so she asks the pupil to be the song leader.

It is almost 2:00 o'clock. She has them stand up, put their desks in order, put the chairs up on the desks, and reminds them of the rules of behavior on the bus: (1) Don't yell. (2) Don't stick your hands or head out of the window because they might get chopped off.

2:00 She calls them by rows to the back to get their jackets and lunch boxes, and they move from there to form two rows at

the door. The bell rings. Karen says she'll see them tomorrow. As they leave she hands them a letter she has written to their parents. It reads as follows:

"I want to welcome your children to my first grade room. The first week or so will be filled with varied activities and I will change often to keep each child's attention. I realize it takes children time to adjust to a full day at school; sitting still and quiet, wearing shoes and so on, ditto for me.

"I would like to introduce myself. I am a graduate of Midstate University with additional courses from Pacific Central University. My eight years of first grade teaching experience have been in Missouri, France, Arizona, and Washington. I am married and have a two year old son.

"Please be sure all lunch bags, lunch boxes, wallets, purses, sweaters, coats, and so on are marked with names so we will have fewer tears over lost items.

"Keep me informed of any problems your child has or develops during the year. I am aiming for the best year ever, and hoping we--children, you, and myself can all work well together. I hope to meet and to get to know each of you, papas as well as mamas, very soon.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Karen Albright
Room 3"

The first month at Calhoun in Karen's class is characterized by exhortation. The teacher's authority is established through the enunciation of rules to which the children must attend. By the end of the second day Karen has established procedures for adapting to the daily schedule. The children have learned to respond to the bell and to line up outside the classroom door before the beginning of class, to come in at her command and hang up their jackets and place their lunch bags on shelves, to line up in the classroom before recess and again at the door at the end of recess, to say the Pledge of Allegiance, and to hand in their lunch money. Other rules have been announced: "No running in class, raise your hand to recite, use good posture at your desk, don't look outside." In general, violators are simply told to desist, but Karen is beginning to get help from the class.

9:45 Recess is over and the children are back in their seats. One girl suddenly says, "Bobby was throwing tanbark during recess." Bobby pipes up, "But it was up in the air." The teacher says, "Yes, but you were still throwing tanbark. That means you will have to sit by the door during the next recess. You will not be able to play with anyone and you are to keep your lips tightly closed." Bobby says, "Well, I really wasn't doing much!" The teacher replies, "I don't want any backtalk from you. You just listen and follow the rules." Then the teacher goes on, "Thank you for reporting this. It could be dangerous. Did anyone else throw tanbark? If you did, raise your hand. Be honest about it." No one raises a hand. Suddenly a girl says, "Some boys were pushing in line." The teacher responds, "They were? Were they pusing you?" The girl says, "No." The teacher replies, "Then that's tattling. Let the people involved in something like that tell about it, otherwise it's tattling."

Personal affection, the threat of its withdrawal or demonstration, is used to sanction social behavior and academic performance.

9:22 Karen gets ready to hand out the papers the children colored yesterday with red, and as she begins to hand them out she says, "I don't like you when you don't finish. These papers are generally O.K., but you need to finish them. What would happen if I went home now before I'd finished my work, before the school day was over? You have to finish your work, although yesterday there really wasn't enough time." She explains the grade she put on the paper to them and says, "Your papers have either an O.K. or a star, and I'm pretty chintzy with stars."

1:46 The children line up to go to the library. Karen tells them they must carry a pencil and to carry it point down at their side because otherwise it could be dangerous. One boy is a little noisy and she says to him: "Do you want to come and hold my hand on the way to the library? Well, if you don't, be quiet."

Like her colleagues Karen is skeptical about how effectively parents can intervene to improve their children's academic progress. She invokes parental pressure when a child does not respond satisfactorily to her own efforts, but in general she imposes narrow limits on parental involvement either because she does not think parents are capable of providing the right kind of help or because she does not want their input to create the illusion of progress. Late in the first week, when the children begin

learning about new math, about sets and the difference between a numeral and a number, she makes this comment:

> Your mommy and daddy may not be able to help you on all of this work. For example, the differences between a number and a numeral. This is part of your math homework, but it is something your mommy and daddy may not have had. However, an older brother or sister will know because they've had this kind of work. You must study hard and learn so that you will know it when you are parents.

The following week they receive further instructions concerning what they might or might not expect from parents when doing homework. She asks them to look through old magazines and find pictures which begin with the same sound as brown, black, and blue. She says: "When you cut out these pictures cut them out as neatly as possible. It is better to have one neat picture than a lot of messy ones. Remember, I'm asking you to do it, not your mother or father. Even if it's messy, if you do it I won't be so mad."

As the month continues, the repertoire of regulations, standards, and patterns of discipline become more complicated. Additional behavioral norms with regard to peer interaction are enunciated. Pupils are told not to talk unless everyone can hear. They are encouraged to make new friends and play with them, but they are not to look at their neighbor's work. They are not to tattle, but sometimes, she says, it is necessary. Physical isolation and public shame become Karen's standard sanctions. A pupil who is noisy during a class period is required to stay in at recess and sit by the door. When a pupil leans too far back in a chair and falls over he is instructed to freeze--to stay there for several minutes until Karen tells him he can get up.

She rewards hard work. When the children complete a particularly difficult assignment sooner than she expects, they may spend the next part of the period learning songs; if they finish a regular assignment early they can draw until everyone is through.

Karen's tendency to use every opportunity to reinforce classroom norms sometimes leaves her searching for words.

9:17 She says, "How many want to play Simon Says?" Two-thirds of the children raise their hands. She starts the game and as it proceeds several pupils who do not respond correctly to her commands fail to leave the game. (They are supposed to sit down.) She says, "Remember children, I can't always see when some of you are supposed to sit down because you haven't done something right, so you'll just have to sit down yourself. It is better to lose and be honest than win (here she pauses) and not be honest." Her voice trails off and becomes almost inaudible.

Predictably, the pronouncement of so many rules and norms leads to inconsistency:

9:53 She is at the front using the flannel board, putting different colored circles, squares, and animals on it and having the children come up to the front to match the squares with the circles or the circles with the ducks. She calls on pupils who haven't had a turn in the past two days. When she asks, "Who hasn't had a turn today?" several pupils raise their hands. She calls on one boy. Immediately another boy says, "But he was the first one yesterday." The teacher responds, "Oh, you can't always choose one who hasn't had a turn."

There are unanticipated moments throughout the month when the reaction of the class to a minor crisis draws her praise. During the first period one day, a child in one of the reading groups develops a nose bleed and Karen takes him to the sink in the back of the room to clean his face. The class remains quiet, and when she returns to the front of the room she says, "Thank you, class, for being such nice helpers."

Karen and her fellow first-grade teachers view the kindergarten experience as more informal--characterized by fewer institutional demands and constraints--than the experience they give their first graders. Kindergarten children are not yet really in "school." They agree, therefore, that in the first grade "getting pupils off to a good start" is an important goal, and they talk about it in ways which both include and go beyond the experience of the pupils in the classroom. In the context of school life these teachers are socialization agents. The first month reveals the priorities they act on in structuring classroom life. The patterned interaction with pupils in Karen's class is directed at establishing a system of social control through the enunciation and enforcement of rules and standards regarding social behavior.

Karen's background and her feelings about her performance as a teacher are relevant to these observations. She is thirty years old, married to an optometrist, has one child, a two-year-old boy, and lives in a comfortable three-bedroom house in Dennison. She has been teaching for seven years, but this is her first year in the Dennison district. She was born and raised in the Midwest. Karen's father was a dry cleaner and tailor. His education did not extend beyond grammar school. Her mother was a homemaker for the first twelve years of Karen's life and after that worked part time as a clerk in a department store. She is a high school graduate.

Karen says she first began thinking about becoming a teacher before she entered high school, and it was during high school that she definitely decided on it. There was no other occupation she seriously considered. Both parents in this respect were very influential and urged her to train to be a teacher. She received the same advice from some of her favorite relatives and high school teachers. After high school she entered a Midwestern university and graduated with a major in elementary education.

Her first teaching assignment was in a small, new elementary school in an upper-middle-class area where she says she enjoyed the luxury of having only sixteen pupils the first year and nineteen the second. After two years in this school she applied for a position in an Army overseas school and was assigned to a school in Germany. It was in that year, she said, that she first began to find out what teaching was all about, that is, how difficult it could be. The parents of her pupils were from all ranks in the Army.

When she returned to the United States she taught for a year in a school in the Rocky Mountain area and then moved farther west to accept a position in the southern part of the state where she now lives. Here, while she was teaching in a elementary school, she met her future husband. They were married and moved shortly thereafter to Dennison. She said she vowed that once she was married she would never go back to teaching, but she began to be bored at home being just a housewife so she applied for a teaching position in the Dennison schools. Several days after she turned in an application, she received a call saying there was a position for her at Calhoun starting the next day. She had to hurry to find a baby sitter and prepare teaching materials.

Karen started as a substitute, since the district didn't have all her papers from previous schools and therefore could not issue a contract for full-time teaching, but parents began to protest because she was the third consecutive teacher of her class that year. The principal, Larry Vincent, reported this reaction to the district, and it was decided that Karen would stay for the year.

Karen reports that there was no effort by either the district or the principal at Calhoun to tell her their expectations for her as a teacher. It was simply a matter of "we need a teacher, you're hired, go to work." The district personnel office did give her policy statements to consult. The first dealt with time allotments affecting the daily program. It specified for reading and literature 300 minutes per week, for arithmetic 100 minutes, for social studies and additional language arts 350 minutes, for healthful living 150 minutes, for art 75 minutes, for music 75 minutes. The time allotment is referred to as a guide for planning the class programs. It is, the statement concludes, "brought to life always by the teacher's efforts to meet the needs of children. It is what the teacher does with children in the classroom that really counts."

The district further stated that a child's classroom performance depended on the teacher's knowledge of her pupils' characteristics. Karen was expected to develop a profile of each pupil, beginning with questions of general health, eyes, ears, speech mechanism, and motor coordination. The statement on first-grade readiness says:

> Besides becoming acquainted with each child individually through consideration of the above questions it might be helpful to look at the class as a whole. The following questions will help in considering the kinds of experiences which will be good for the class as a whole.
>
> 1. What is the general make-up of the class in mental capacity, language, and social background?
> 2. Which children have had kindergarten training?
> 3. Which ones are repeating the grade?
> 4. What is the age range within the group?

5. Which pupils have physical defects?

6. Which ones show marked emotional or behavioral problems?

7. Are there any bilinguals in the class?

8. What is the range of abilities in the class in language skills and motor capacities judged from informal observation?

9. Which pupils show signs of poor home training or backward home conditions?

10. Which ones come from favored homes?

Karen says there is freedom at Calhoun to set whatever rules a teacher feels are not appropriate in the classroom. What one teacher likes might be different from what another likes. She says of herself:

> You can tell I'm kind of strict. I like it quiet. When I did my student teaching I was in a classroom where children could have all the freedom they wanted. It was too chaotic. I hated every minute of it because I just couldn't see running a classroom that way--one that's never quiet. I don't know how the children can really think when it's that noisy. I couldn't think and I was scared to death every moment. I was scared to death the first day I taught and had my own room. The children walked into the room, sat down, and folded their hands. That really scared me, because I was expecting them to start throwing things at me and running around the room. They just came in and sat down in the room, and from then on I never had any trouble.
>
> I think I'm free to do what I want. Maybe if I were more lax somebody might put a little bit of pressure on me to calm the kids down, but I've never had anyone say anything about letting up on them or clamping down on them.

Karen feels the evaluation of her performance and that of her colleagues is up to the principal. She has never been involved in evaluating colleagues and doesn't think she should be; she doesn't feel that she's qualified to evaluate anyone else. When she first came to Calhoun the principal had practically no time to observe her performance, because he was a teaching principal. By Christmas time when she was a full-time teacher, he was a full-time principal.

> He had to make an evaluation of me but he didn't have much to base it on. He came in to observe several times but generally the visits were in connection with sending a note home to a parent or for purposes of giving me some message and then he would take that opportunity to sit down. Actually, of all the principals I've had there has been only one who has come in and observed my teaching for reasonable lengths of time. He would come in and spend the whole day in the classroom. But then I'm not so sure that's necessary. It may be that a principal can learn more by dropping in for a few minutes than by coming in to spend the whole day or half a day. The principal here doesn't really have any suggestions to make about what I ought to do and the other principals didn't either. That kind of bothers me because I know I'm not perfect. I'm not really sure what the idea of the evaluation system is. Most districts have similar forms and I always get good recommendations, but I also always feel I'm not that good. There must be something wrong with me someplace, and there are times when I think I would really like to get knocked down a peg or two.

These observations and those of the sixth grade teacher that follow have been selected to typify the teacher's behavior, although observations of Karen were limited to the first month of school.[1] The central fact of the teaching experience is classroom life, and we are all familiar with it. Hence these observations and interview data are used to establish the "presence" of the classroom and to lead to topics that need to be examined within a broader context. Such topics include the patterned interaction of parents and teachers, the efficacy of teacher evaluation as implemented by the principal, the form and substance of district interventions aimed at improving the educational process, the organization of teacher selection and assignment, and the socialization role of teachers. The latter topic we will elaborate on here.

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[1]The profile of Karen is particularly relevant to the problem of selectivity in presenting the data collected. My analysis of observations made at other times during the year lead me to conclude that the observations presented here typify her teaching mode, although in later months she does not have to be so concerned with socialization to school routine. The profile fails to communicate, however, her generally cheerful manner with her colleagues and, more important, the somewhat detached humor and skepticism with which she views her classroom behavior. There is fragmentary evidence that at least some pupils are also able to view this behavior with detachment.

Socialization processes to which Karen and her colleagues attend are concerned primarily with the internal dynamics of classroom life. The other first grade teachers are neither as voluble as Karen nor as persistent in enunciating prescriptions and norms, but none of them leaves to chance the socialization to school and class routine.[2]

We generally view the organization of classroom life as an important measure of a teacher's openness and adaptiveness to change, emphatically so with our current interest in educational reform. By such a measure Calhoun may be fairly characterized as "traditional." But this kind of stereotype oversimplifies the complexities of the teaching experience and the investment a teacher has in the socialization process. The effective socialization of pupils to the organization of classroom life is instrumental to the teacher's demonstration of competence.

The make-up of a class--in particular the balance between fast and slow learners--is for teachers an important predictor of socialization difficulties they may anticipate. Diana Atwood, one of Calhoun's second grade teachers, spoke of this point in an interview. She began by saying that I would obtain a much different picture of her teaching depending on the year I observed.

> My first year I taught the only second grade at Calhoun. There was a balance between fast and slow students; it gave me a good sample of what teaching is all about. Last year was different. I had the slowest of three sections, but at the beginning I did not realize they would be so different. They were more rambunctious, disorderly, even disrespectful. Before I knew it I slipped into some bad habits myself and was never able to change their behavior. I eventually came to see them as a group who didn't really care about learning. If that had been my first year, I probably would have quit altogether.

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[2] Smith and Geoffrey's discussion of a teacher's initial concern for establishing control offers comparable data. See Louis M. Smith and William Geoffrey, The Complexities of an Urban Classroom (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), pp. 67-72. Their study is rich in data on life in a sixth grade classroom in a slum school. Their theoretical formulations about teaching are relevant to this study in diverse ways.

> This year was much better. The slowest pupils were in another section so the slowest pupil in my class was faster than any pupil I had last year. But the biggest difference was in behavior. This year the children were well-behaved.

The assessment of pupil progress by Calhoun teachers is a familiar routine. Homework, tests, workbook exercises, and the like provide data that can be transferred to a grade book. To such quantitative data a teacher may add, at least in moments of indecision, a factor based on less systematic and more impressionistic observations of a pupil's social behavior: attentiveness, participation, and cooperation. The gradebook and the report card, however, provide the most functional profile of pupil progress for the teacher attempting to give evidence of her competence to her constituencies, but in a personal sense they are not the most meaningful. When Diana talks about measuring pupils' progress, she, like her colleagues, dwells not on quantitative measures, but on those unpredictable moments when the behavior of a pupil manifests a step forward. "A light goes on in their faces." "They exclaim over solving a problem that has frustrated them." "They suddenly begin asking a lot of questions."[3] These fleeting and unforeseen moments may occur because of or in spite of the way Calhoun teachers proceed in the classroom, but their unpredictability does not diminish their significance. One might view these descriptions of pupil progress as personal and sentimental characterizations of role fulfillment. It is more important to understand them as embodying a central ideal, the individualization of schooling, toward which the contextual system strives.

Diana's observations illustrate a basic condition of the teaching experience. For teachers the operating reality is the production of acceptable academic achievement rendered in quantitative terms. To this end they see the make-up and organization of the class as serving an instrumental role. The personal encounters with pupil progress represent an ideal to which they aspire but which is so often denied them or which they deny themselves.

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[3] Characterized as "fleeting behavioral cues" in Philip W. Jackson, Life in Classrooms (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), p. 120. See in particular Chapter 4 for an excellent discussion of teachers' views of their experience.

The Sixth Grade

Chris Uhlan is twenty-eight years old, married, and has two children. In appearance he is above medium height, slightly over six feet tall, and compact. He has sandy hair, a freckled complexion, and round, open features. His voice is resonant, and his manner friendly. He is good company in the faculty room with colleagues and strangers, but he does not linger there. His hurried, sloping stride conveys a mood of preoccupation with his work. He has had seven years teaching experience, but this is his first year in the Dennison district. As soon as he moved to the Dennison area, he started graduate work on a credential in educational administration; he wants to become a principal.

Chris was born in a small midwestern community, the fifth of seven children. His father was a service man for an office machine company in a nearby city; his mother, a housewife. When Chris reached the third grade the family moved to Redmont in a southwestern state. It became their permanent home. After finishing high school Chris entered and eventually graduated from the state university in Redmont. He doesn't remember any specific point when it became clear to him that he should become a teacher but is certain his mother was a strong influence. She wanted all her children to complete a college education. She talked frequently to her children about their particular talents and often told Chris she saw in him teaching ability. Chris was always receptive to the idea, and in high school he began thinking about teaching as an occupation. Art had become one of his favorite subjects; his mother encouraged him to think about combining art and education.

In his second year of college he changed his art education major to commercial art, because he began to have doubts about the financial security in teaching, but his interest in commercial art did not prevail. By his junior year he had settled on teaching, a decision made easier by his marriage that year. He said he knew he had to get ready to settle down.

When he set out to find a position at the end of his senior year, he had interviews with school district representatives from western states because he wanted to stay in the West. Before these interviews took place, he had one with a representative from an eastern seaboard school district, by way of a "warm-up" for subsequent interviews and because he had a brother who lived in that region. The school district offered a starting salary of $5100, which was more than he was subsequently offered from any other school district. The salary and the lure of the New York area influenced him to accept the offer. In late summer he and his wife headed east. They stayed for one semester. His draft notice brought relief from the high cost of living he had not foreseen and a teaching position he did not enjoy.

Two years later, in late fall, he was discharged and returned to Redmont to seek a teaching position. After a wait of several months he was placed as an art teacher in an elementary school. It was his hardest teaching experience. The school was located in a low-income area, predominantly Mexican-American. He says he didn't know how to begin; he had never taught in a school where the teacher had to supply the motivation, and his colleagues' sense of futility did not help him. Chris says he "fought the attitude," because he didn't think his work would have integrity if he weren't trying to improve himself. By the end of the first semester, he was beginning to think of himself as a successful teacher and not just a disciplinarian, an outcome of the friendships he was making with the pupils through after-school athletic activities.

Chris taught art for five years and then accepted a position as a sixth grade teacher to see if he could manage a self-contained classroom and teach all subjects. During that year he completed his master's degree at the state university and began looking for a teaching position on the west coast. Of the offers he received, Dennison's was the most attractive in salary (a $3000 increase over Redmont) and benefits. He moved to Dennison in June 1967.

Classroom Life

Chris' sixth grade class has thirteen boys and twenty-two girls. Their average age is twelve; two of the boys are fourteen. Residence patterns reflect the mobility of their parents. Two-thirds of the pupils have lived in Dennison less than three years; one-third, less than a year. Over half of them have lived in at least two other communities. The parents' occupations are representative of the entire school:

Fathers		Mothers	
Professional (1 engineer, 2 teachers)	3	Secretarial-clerical, waitress	6
Middle-rank civil servants, highway patrol, highly skilled technicians	5	Housewife	29
Skilled worker (building trades, industry)	19		35
Unskilled labor (farming)	5		
Unemployed	3		
	35		

The sixth grade classroom is one of seven portable classrooms in the school. Chris was assigned the classroom immediately adjacent to the baseball diamond because his grade and the fifth make the most use of it. The classroom is forty feet long and twenty feet wide. A single door opens into the room from the asphalt walkway. A series of five louvered windows on the south side provide the only source of natural light, altogether insufficient on even the sunniest day. The interior arrangement of the room faces west. Six rows of school chairs separated by narrow aisles face the long blackboard on the west wall. In the rear of the room are coatracks, tables and shelves with supplementary textbooks, science equipment, and a cage with a rat.

The walls are covered with the visual paraphernalia so familiar in elementary classrooms: messages about studying, patriotism, civic responsibilities, celebrations, and model behavior. Near the blackboard are two pedestrian and bicycle safety posters; a poster of foods, illustrating what makes a good lunch; replicas of the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Constitution, the Mayflower Compact, and President Roosevelt's statement of the four freedoms; a small American flag; and ten

Valentine cards (sent to Chris by students). On the north wall are student drawings with a weather motif (presently the subject of a science unit); a large area marked off in sections with strips of colored paper titled "News," and filled with items from papers and news magazines; samples of student writings, each titled "A Vacation Journal."

On the back wall to the east are two large posters with an exploration theme, one about westward expansion, the second about space. Next to the posters is another large hand-printed poster titled "Monitors," with the following information:

1. Morning Monitors (Lead Pledge)
   a. Open windows
   b. Straighten coat shelves
   c. Welcome visitors and offer chairs
2. Collection Monitors
   a. Collect papers
   b. Put them in folders
   c. Pass out papers
3. Cleanup Monitors
   a. Check desktops
   b. Check inside desks
   c. Keep room, table, floor neat and clean
4. End of Day Monitors--2:55
   a. Erase board
   b. Close windows
   c. Pick up papers and scraps
   d. Empty pencil sharpeners
5. Exercise Leader
   a. Lead exercises

On the south wall between the windows and the corner is a poster titled "Fire Patrol," with a list of the class fire patrol leaders and fire drill procedures.

To the left of the blackboard, near the door, is the ubiquitous list of classroom rules. The oversized poster is titled "Classroom Citizenship"; the rules are written large with a heavy stroke.

1. When in doubt, raise your hand and ask the teacher.
2. Always stay at your seat unless the teacher gives you special permission.
3. Never talk or make a disturbing noise (you may talk when the teacher gives you permission).
4. Don't bother neighbors--if you need something, ask the teacher.
5. Always do classwork or homework assigned you.

6. Always do your own work.
7. Be courteous and polite at all times.
8. Never run or stomp.
9. When lining up, don't talk, push or touch.
10. If you have a question, raise your hand and wait for the teacher's permission to speak.
11. Sit up straight; don't slouch.
12. Keep your desks, books, and desk tops neat and clean.
13. Get drinks and go to the bathroom during recess.
14. Hang up coats when you first enter.
15. Never touch anything that doesn't belong to you.

Similar lists can be found in most Calhoun classrooms. The poster is a relatively insignificant ritual--but symbolic of the instrumental value teachers attach to the organization of classroom life.

The curriculum Chris and his colleagues follow is, with minor exceptions, determined by the state. The state education code stipulates that all grades in the elementary school are to have reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, health, and physical education. United States history, geography, literature, and state history are to be taught in grades four through six, and civics, natural science, and a foreign language in grade six. Music and art are to be included in the curriculum but at grades designated by the local school board. History courses are to include information on minority groups. Teachers are directed to teach morality and citizenship, provide instruction in fire prevention and protection, and disseminate information on the effects of alcohol and drugs.

The curriculum materials teachers use are also determined largely by the state system of adoption and subsidization. For each text approved for use in the schools a ratio (number of pupils per copy) is established, and school districts are furnished copies based on the ratio. For example, the state adopted two reading series for the primary grades and established for each series a ratio of one reader for two pupils. Hence, if Calhoun teachers wish to provide the equivalent of one reader per pupil at no cost to the district, they have to make use of both series.

If a teacher decides to use a series not financed by the state, he generally draws textbooks from the district's instructional materials center, which has an extensive collection. If the center does not have a particular series or if it is in short supply, a teacher may request

that it be purchased out of school funds, a rather hopeless proposition, the faculty knows, because the Calhoun budget for all such purchases is approximately $250.

In grades one through six the state requires that at least 50 percent of classroom time be devoted to reading, writing, language, spelling, arithmetic, and civics and that 20 minutes of each day be set aside for physical education. The schedule for the intermediate grades (4-6) is:

8:45	Pledge - Anthem
8:50	Language - Spelling
9:30	Science - Health
10:00	P.E. - Recess
10:40	Arithmetic
11:30	Lunch
12:15	Social Studies
1:15	Reading
1:55	Recess
2:15	Spanish - Art - Music - Games
2:55	Monitor Duties
3:00	Dismissal
3:20	Bus Pickup

The primary grades have three recess periods--two in the morning and one in the afternoon--and their lunch period begins at 11:45 a.m.

A day in late February typifies Chris's classroom routine:

First Period

8:45 The class is lined up at the classroom door. Chris approaches from the faculty room and tells the children to go inside. When they are settled Chris nods to Jerry Bowen who moves to the front of the room and leads the class in the pledge to the flag and in one verse of "America."

8:50 Chris assigns a spelling exercise in their workbooks and says that after they begin working he will distribute tickets to those purchasing them for the magic show Friday night. "But don't begin," he goes on, "until I have passed out the paperbacks you have ordered." Twelve students have purchased books; one girl placed an order for twelve. There are exclamations when he puts the pile of books on her desk.

8:58 The pupils are talking about the books and the magic show. Chris breaks in: "Okay, let's get started on the words. Concentrate on the word, the accent marks, and the syllables."

9:00 Chris distributes the tickets. The classroom is quiet.

9:15 The pupils are still working on the spelling exercises. Several girls are talking in low voices; Chris ignores them.

9:17 Chris asks the pupils to stand up for a lunch count.

9:19 He moves about the room helping students with their spelling. The room is quiet.

9:20 He tells them that after they are finished with the spelling they are to unscramble the words he is going to put on the board. He writes the following: weobl, ozfer, ifadar, egart, dyonob.

Second Period

9:24 He asks how many are through with the spelling exercises. Most of them raise their hands.

9:31 The room has grown noisy. He says, "Hey, people!" They quiet down temporarily. He suddenly turns to a boy and girl who are still talking, "Jim, now it's you and Sally I've got to worry about. Well, maybe I put the blame in the wrong quarter before."

9:33 He has returned to his desk, and two pupils have come up to ask about their work.

9:34 He tells the students to pass in their spelling.

9:35 He announces that the filmstrip is on static electricity, turns out the lights, and begins.

9:40 He has to interrrupt the filmstrip to ask what the noise is all about. There is no reply, but the room becomes quiet again.

9:55 The filmstrip ends. Throughout the showing he has halted the filmstrip to ask the students if they understand the terms being used and to answer their questions. A discussion follows.

Recess

10:00 Recess and physical education. They start with five minutes of exercises. The boys in the front rows, the girls in the back--a precaution that became a necessity with miniskirts. At the completion of the exercises, Chris starts the girls playing softball and takes the boys to the basketball court for practice.

Third Period

10:40 The class returns from recess and begins arithmetic. Five pupils are told to go to the board, write a problem, and work it. The class is working on mixed and improper fractions and multiplication. Before the five begin Chris asks if anyone can prove that 3 1/3 is the same as 10/3. He draws a number line on the board and asks a girl to demonstrate the proof. She goes to the board and marks off 10 thirds which brings her to 3 1/3 on the scale.

10:48 He calls five more pupils to the board.

11:00 He writes ten problems on the board and tells the class to work them. They begin and he moves about the room helping them. He stops their work periodically to explain a problem at the board.

11:08 He is now at the back of the room looking at Rodney Jones' work. Rodney has been in trouble enough to be assigned a seat at the back apart from his classmates. Chris looks at his answers and says, "How did you get that? You lifted it. It just can't be done that way." Chris sits down next to Rodney and explains how the problem is to be done.

11:15 Chris goes to the board to explain another problem. When he finishes his explanation, he moves back down the aisles to watch them work and help those having trouble.

Lunch

11:28 He tells them to get ready for lunch. They clear their desks and line up at the door, and he excuses them.

12:00 By this time most of the children have eaten and are outside gathered in front of the porch overlooking the playground. There is an elementary school basketball tournament tomorrow, and Calhoun not only has a team but cheerleaders as well. Chris says the tournament is having quite an impact on the school. There are ten cheerleaders; practically every other girl in the upper grades is training to be one.

12:05 The cheerleaders gather on the porch and begin leading cheers. The cheering is loud. When they finish, Chris yells at the crowd to be at the game and there is another cheer. The cheerleaders call the players up on the porch one at a time and lead a cheer. Then the pupils move away in groups to play, talk, and practice cheering.

12:15 The bell rings, and movement on the playground suddenly "freezes"; the playground supervisor blows her whistle, and life is restored to the scene as the children move toward the classrooms.

Fourth Period

12:25 Chris tells the students to get out their World View Book and instructs them to settle down. The rally is over, school is in session, and he tells the girls to put the pompons away. He hands back some papers on which they answered the first five questions and tells them they are now to do the last five questions. The room immediately becomes quiet, and Chris sits down at his desk to do some work.

12:31 The primary grades have recess; the children are playing noisily near the classroom. Chris goes out and chases them away.

12:37 Chris interrupts the class work to explain one question. He has to define "conservation" for some of the pupils.

12:42 He passes out the Latin American fact sheets they worked on the day before. He says they can finish them after they have completed the questions from the World View. The class falls silent again and works on.

12:45 He interrupts them to ask how many are going to give either oral reports on current events or what he calls "object reports," which he says are the equivalent of "Show and Tell," but a little more dignified. The pupils are encouraged to bring in objects, experiments, or whatever they're working on that they're interested in, and talk about them. He says he has to find out so he'll know how to budget his time the rest of the afternoon. After he finds out, he tells them to go back to work.

12:46 One boy raises his hand for help on the question he's working on.

12:48 Chris suddenly asks, "Are you all a little warm?" The classroom has become rather warm, and the children seem drowsy. They yell, "Yes!" and he turns on the air conditioner.

12:51 He stops working and moves a girl and her chair so that she's not so close to a friend. He tells them to quit looking at each other and try to get to work.

12:53 One girl is up across the room talking to a friend and he says, "Patricia, you're on the move again. I thought you were getting ready to settle down. Now go back and sit down." She does.

12:54 He tells them to finish the geography questions in the next few minutes.

12:55 He asks them how many are done. Most of them raise their hands. He says, "Martha and James, turn around and get to work."

12:59 He instructs them to hand in the questions but not the fact sheets; the latter they can put in their books.

Fifth Period

1:00 Chris assigns them a story to write, about "Dr. Domuch," the title character of a spring musical the school is going to put on. Jean Haines proposed in an earlier meeting of intermediate teachers that the school do a takeoff on Dr. Dolittle. The teachers agreed to put their classes to work on stories about Dr. Domuch to see what kind of character he might turn out to be. To prepare them for writing, Chris writes on the board what he says are some characteristics of the man:

1 An unusual man
2. He does strange things
3. Many people do not understand him
4. He is a "fantasy" character
5. He wants to do good for the world

1:15 They talk about these traits and he asks them for ideas or themes they might follow in writing about Domuch. The following list is made:

1. A doctor who never does anything right
2. A scientist's helper who is clumsy
3. A duck keeper
4. A scientist who tries to bring animals from Mars to Earth

1:25 He tells them to begin writing and then walks about the room answering questions, helping with spelling, and the like.

Recess

1:55 He tells them to stop writing and clean up for recess. They clear their desks and move to the door, and he excuses them.

Sixth Period

2:22 It is the end of recess, and the pupils are back in the room. Chris begins the Spanish lesson. He gives the words in English, and they are to respond with Spanish.

2:28 He begins pronouncing new Spanish words and has the class repeat in unison.

2:30 Chris now takes picture cards and asks the pupils for the names of the objects in Spanish.

2:31 He finishes the exercises and has a monitor hand paper to each pupil for a Spanish test on the words they have been practicing. He gives the Spanish, and they write the translation. It's a short test.

2:34 While the test is going on, Chris reminds the children to cover up their papers and do their own work. He says, for example, "Let's be sure your paper is protected, Roberta." And to another, "Keep your paper up tight. Put your hand over as soon as you are finished."

2:38 He tells them to exchange papers. He gives them the answers, and then he tells them to return the papers to the owners and to pass the papers forward.

2:43 Homework assignment is announced for the next day:

Mathematics:	Review page 73 and do the exercises on the next page.
World Review:	On page 151, write out the study Questions 1 through 5.

2:46 He tells them to clean up and get ready for a game of password, which he is organizing at the end of the day. In order to get them ready to clean up, he tells them to be quiet and then waits and stares at them until the room quiets down and becomes extremely quiet. When it has become almost deathly quiet, he says, "Now, isn't that nice. What a sound. Bet it makes you nervous."

2:50 They have 10 minutes of the password game. One boy and one girl are called to the front, facing the class. Chris writes a word on the board, the boys and girls raise their hands, and either a boy or a girl--depending on whose turn it is--calls on someone for a hint and responds with what he or she thinks the word is. This goes on for 10 minutes. The boys beat the girls 7 to 5.

2:58 Just before the end of the password game, Chris, to save time, tells a desk monitor to start down the aisles inspecting desks to see that they are clean. When he does this, the attention to the password game drops off, and the noise level increases considerably.

3:00 End of school.

We may derive more meaning from these observations if we place them within the context of at least four perspectives: the teaching goals Chris sets for himself, his feelings about his performance as a teacher, the students' generalized reactions to him, and the interpretations of the observer.

When the events require Chris to make a formal statement of his goals, he defines them in the familiar terms of academic and social-civic values. In early October at Open House he distributed to parents the following list of his goals in teaching the sixth grade.

1. To encourage my students to respect and understand the rights of their peers, their neighbors, and their fellow men
2. To sustain or create a desire to search and learn
3. To foster imagination and creativity and to encourage curiosity
4. To develop within the students independence and self-discipline
5. To promote social and emotional growth and a democratic regard for others
6. To encourage good mental and physical health
7. To teach my pupils the meaning of courtesy, good manners, and maturity
8. To develop reading and writing skills and communicative abilities
9. To enhance mathematical skills
10. To teach and demonstrate the miracles and powers of science and how it affects us in everyday life
11. To reveal the history and progress of our Latin-American neighbors
12. To give my students a basic understanding of the Spanish language
13. To teach effective listening
14. To present a geographic picture of our world and universe
15. To establish a spirit of allegiance and good citizenship and to promote pride in our country and our world citizens.

When he talks about his teaching, he says that he most wants his students to learn to be more independent, more curious about life, and more creative, but finds it hard to measure progress of that kind.

> Sometimes I really get discouraged about figuring out if I am making any progress in the things that seem important in the long run. What it amounts to is that if I think I've had a good day then some progress was probably made. When I have the feeling that it's been a good day, it's usually because there were no problems, the students were eager to learn, they asked a lot of questions, they disagreed with me on some points, an experiment worked.

> I don't know how often that happens, probably not enough. But you can't do a bang-up job of teaching every day, five to six hours a day. There are plenty of times when I do just what I say teachers ought not to do, like being so dependent on textbooks.

Chris's students are not uncritical of his teaching behavior in the classroom. They like the way he teaches science and math, but they think social studies is uninteresting. They appreciate his willingness to help them and they enjoy his sense of humor, but some speak of him as brusque and sarcastic. Nevertheless, in the course of the year Chris appears to have convinced his class that he is interested in their welfare and will respond to their expressions of friendship. On a day late in April when he returned to the classroom after lunch, he was greeted with a boisterous chorus of "Happy Birthday!" He was genuinely surprised, and his students were pleased. They had been planning the party for two weeks and had managed during the noon hour to put it together: cake, soft drinks, decorations, and inexpensive, humorous gifts. Chris does not lack company after school or during recess when he is supervising the playground. There are always sixth graders who linger to talk during such moments. Their conversations flow not only from the events of classroom life but also from the diverse contacts he has with them outside the classroom.

Extracurricular Responsibilities

The district handbook stipulates that teachers "may be expected to give a reasonable amount of time to activities outside regular class hours." The test of "reasonableness" is an equitable distribution among teachers of responsibilities necessary to maintain a normal school program, including required activities, such as bus supervision, and expected activities, such as a Christmas program. The actual assignment of responsibilities is a function of the principal's leadership and of faculty judgment (seldom concealed) about the performance of colleagues. The basic question is whose turn it is next. There is predictably an imbalance in the extent to which Calhoun teachers participate in extracurricular activities; some teachers have talents a school program needs; some have special interests; others have a simple willingness to go beyond what might be defined as reasonable.

Chris understood when he was employed that he was expected to develop team sports for the older boys. His first performance as coach was a surprising success. Calhoun placed third in a basketball tournament for elementary schools in the immediate area, and a trophy was added to the school display case. The softball team in the spring had a less distinguished record than the basketball team, but they practiced frequently during the noon hour, the physical education period, and after school when transportation home could be arranged. The sight of the older boys on the ball diamond absorbed in play was reassuring to Larry and the teachers, as were the games themselves, for they produced an excitement and display of school spirit that had been missing in the life of the school. Chris's involvement in team sports generated responsibilities for other teachers. The teams needed cheerleaders; there were try-outs, elections, practices, and pep rallies, which Jean Haines supervised. Games required umpires or referees; no one was exempt from service.

Chris is advisor to the student council and also directs the student patrol. The council has ten members: a boy and a girl elected from each of the intermediate grades, and four officers--president, vice-president, treasurer, and sergeant-at-arms--elected at large in early November. The campaign lasts two weeks and is climaxed by speeches in the auditorium. Each candidate has a manager who is allowed thirty seconds for an introductory speech of endorsement. The candidate is also limited to thirty seconds.

The campaign in 1967 went off smoothly, but the election ended in doubt. The leading contender for president had provoked a fight with a classmate that morning, and Chris declared him ineligible to hold office. But his name remained on the ballot, and he received the most votes. Martha Yeatman argued that he ought to be seated, particularly since it was likely he would do a better job than the runner-up. Larry agreed but said Chris was in charge of student elections and his decision should be supported, especially since the student council is "all about good citizenship and if a boy breaks an important school rule, he should not be eligible to hold office."

The council meets every Friday afternoon between 1:30 and 2:00; while Chris is with the council Martha Yeatman takes the rest of his class for a half hour of music or art. The council concerns itself with behavior--that of their own as "model" students and deviations on the part of others--and with new activities and facilities. Their meeting the first week in March produced the following under old business:

1. Reports were received from the finance committee and the improvement committee about trying to get the Parent-Teachers Club to purchase more playground equipment.
2. One member of the council--Sammy, a fifth grader-- was reported to be playing regularly in the tanbark area, a play area forbidden to the upper grades. Sammy admitted his guilt; he said he did it because the older boys in his class wouldn't let him play in their games. Chris pointed out he wasn't setting a good example, as a council member should.
3. The behavior of students in the bus lines was discussed. Some members of the council complained they couldn't prevent older boys from crowding into the front of the line, partly because teachers didn't enforce the rule.

Under new business:

1. A date for the carnival and the part students were to play in it were discussed.
2. Sammy asked whether it was too late for him to try out for the basketball team.
3. Mary asked if the girls could have an activity like the basketball team for the boys.
4. Billy said some of the teachers were keeping their classes after school and asked if Mr. Uhlan could do something about that.
5. Roger asked if there were going to be a talent show, and Chris said it had been postponed indefinitely.

The student patrol--eight sixth-grade boys selected by Chris--is responsible for patroling the school grounds during recess and enforcing school rules the teacher on duty is not able to attend to, namely, the rule against playing in and around the bathrooms or behind the portable classrooms. The patrol was organized in late fall, and reports on infractions began to accumulate. Chris organized a court system at that point: a panel of six judges and a court clerk. They meet on Thursdays during

the noon hour. Notice of an infraction is turned in by the patrol to the court clerk, who then directs the offender to appear in court on a certain day. On court day the clerk begins the case by reading the charges and asking the defendant how he pleads. If the plea is not guilty, the clerk asks the student patrol boy to report further on what happened, which usually precipitates an exchange with the defendant. The clerk brings the testimony to a close and turns the case over to the head judge and his panel for a verdict. There is a high rate of conviction (I estimate 75 percent), but it is by no means automatic nor are the verdicts themselves always unanimous. Punishment is usually an assignment to copy the rules of the school. There are usually more cases than the court can handle. Each week as the noon hour ends there are the usual groans from the defendants when the judge announces that cases will be carried over. Maintaining the whole system requires more time of Chris than just being in his classroom at noon on Thursday. He says he gets discouraged; he thinks the school needs a patrol and students need the experience the court system provides, but sometimes it all seems unmanageable.

Chris is also advisor to The Calhoun Courier, the student newspaper, which appears monthly, barring unpredictable delays. He trains the staff and helps in organization and editing.

Attitudes toward Autonomy

Chris has strong feelings about official or informal intrusions into his occupational domain. These feelings may be usefully thought of as his attitudes toward autonomy, that is, the level of control he wishes to assert or maintain over specific tasks or task areas that make up the teaching experience. When we examine his reponses in the fall and spring to an Autonomy Attitude Inventory,[4] we will see that some of his attitudes underwent change in his first year at Calhoun. These responses and his comments

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[4]During the year 1967-68 I was associated with a study of the professional socialization of teachers carried out in the Dennison district. Responses to an Autonomy Attitude Inventory were elicited early in the fall and again in the spring. During a series of taped interviews with Chris in the summer of 1968, I asked him to comment on his responses. Those items most relevant to the discussion are presented here. The author of the study and colleagues who participated will understand if I do not cite it. I wish to preserve the anonymity of the Calhoun faculty.

about them provide additional anecdotal material on his teaching experience and offer insight into his attitudes about that experience.

1. Item: I should accept extracurricular and nonteaching duties as a part of my job.

   Response: Fall--Disagree; Spring--Agree

   Comments: At the beginning I didn't want to. At the end I was accepting them. Teachers have a lot to do. I mean if they're really involved in teaching, and if they're really going about preparing themselves, grading papers, and doing all the things they have to, there is hardly time for other things. I always felt when I took on extracurricular things that it shortchanged me somewhere in the classroom. But I think it's important in another respect, in that it's a way of getting down to earth with the kids, being friendly and involved with them. Boys tend to be more aggressive, especially in the sixth grade, and it got me much respect and friendship to be their coach, and also to be their teacher--kind of interchangeable.

2. Item: I intend to follow my principal's preference as to teaching style.

   Response: Fall--Uncertain; Spring--Disagree

   Comments: Yes, I disagree now because Larry's teaching style wouldn't accommodate me at all, although I really don't know specifically what his style is or what style he prefers. If there were a case in which a principal said to me, "Now here's a style I'd like you to use," or "This is the way you should be doing this," I think that would in some ways be an imposition.

3. Item: I do not expect to have my teaching assignment changed during the school year without my agreement.

   Response: Fall--Strongly Agree; Spring--Strongly Agree

   Comments: That's the way I feel, but I guess the principal can really assign you to another grade if he wants to. I don't think he should be able to do it. I think a teacher knows best what he is able to do as far as grade level and that sort of thing is concerned. But the real problem is class assignments for new teachers. It's ironic that a new teacher comes into a school and gets a hard class to handle. Take Ted Freeman, for example. He came into this school and got the worst kids, the discipline problems. He got a room of hostile students. Nothing could turn a person off faster in teaching than to get a situation like that. I thought, "This is ridiculous. Here we want to encourage new teachers to stay in teaching and we give them a full load of kids, and the worst of them at that." That's really ridiculous. I think a new teacher should have a very light load. They should have much preparation time, because they've got an awful lot of work to do.

Take Gayle Olson for instance, a very capable teacher. I thought from what I observed she'd be a boon to education, because, well, most important of all she was an extremely hard worker. She'd go over to the Instructional Materials Center and she'd be there at six o'clock in the evening getting materials, and she'd always be working at it. That girl was crying for help. She could have used assistance. I think she's been too discouraged, but I don't think salary's the reason she or others are leaving. Most, I think, do it because they're initially discouraged by what they see and what they have to do.

Exactly how to describe the circumstances or system whereby a new teacher gets this kind of an assignment is not easy. I guess you'd have to say seniority counts. The teachers who have been here the longest get the privileges, the choice groups, the high groups. With a high group you get a narrow range and you don't have to individualize very much. For instance, last year Larry said, "Take all the low ones out of your class who are especially bothersome, or the ones who are low in achievement and we'll make a new class out of them." I did it. I didn't see how it was fair. I didn't like doing it. Well, I shouldn't say that. I liked getting rid of them because they're a problem.

4. Item: My teaching will be evaluated by someone who knows more about teaching than I do.

   Response: Fall--Undecided; Spring--Undecided

   Comments: I'm undecided because I don't know. I don't know if anyone, even Larry, for example, is more qualified than I am to evaluate my teaching. I don't know if a supervisor who comes into my room knows more about the subject than I do about education. I think I'm the number one authority on my ability as a teacher, to tell you the truth. I know right now very objectively which are my strong points and which are my weak points, and I know where I need improvement. But I think I need the help of others; I think I need someone to come in and point out some things I don't understand.

5. Item: Parents have no right to tell me what to do in the classroom.

   Response: Fall--Agree; Spring--Disagree

   Comments: My whole attitude after my first year has changed. A lot of things happened during the year. I gained confidence and new direction. Through the first semester I was still going through the growing pains and was uncertain and insecure. I had some innings with parents, and I didn't know if I was doing a good job. There were times that I would just have to look in the mirror and say, "Are you a teacher?" But toward the end of the year, I became surer that I was doing a good job. No one really told me, "Hey, you're doing a bang-up job," or anything like that,

but I could see it, I think, to be sort of corny about it, in the faces of my youngsters, the students in my classroom. I got along very well with them. It became a happy class.

I had good parent relations. There were cases, for example, when parents would come, like Mrs. Palmer, for example. She came a couple of times, asked me about things and said, "Have you tried doing something this way," and she'd read something about it, and I would say, "I'd like to see the article." You know, I've learned to handle things. And she'd say, "Okay," so I'd read it, and then I'd say, "A lot of good ideas in that." I think parents should be involved in education. There are some parents who keep up with education and know a lot of the innovations going on. I don't find myself resenting suggestions. It bothered me at first to have someone say, "You're doing this wrong!" or maybe disagree with me on a point, but it doesn't now. If I think they're wrong, I'll take up the challenge and talk to them about it.

6. Item: It is important for me to be well-liked by my students.

   Response: Fall--Disagree; Spring--Agree

   Comments: Well, I agree. I still agree. I think at the beginning of the year that happens. Interesting that it's two different selections. At the beginning of the year you have the feeling that you've got to be very firm to establish your authority; it's not important that you be liked; it's important that you assert your authority. In fact, last year, I think that was my idea and that maybe I had to be that way. You see how people can change in a year. But I think it's important to be liked. It worked for me in Redmont, and I think it worked for me here. I want to be liked. I want the students to be able to come up to me and confide in me and talk to me, you know, speak to me as a friend as well as a teacher.

Chris's responses and comments reflect a change in his attitude toward autonomy in two major repsects. One is his growing independence of the principal, accelerated no doubt by his own aspiration for an administrative position and made easier by Larry's unstructured leadership and his personal support and encouragement of Chris's aspiration. A second change is his increasing willingness (1) to view students as an important reference group in measuring his success as a teacher, and (2) to accept efforts by parents to influence his behavior as a teacher. These attitudes toward students and parents appear to reflect the sacrifice of some autonomy. That is the logic of the change from agree to disagree in response to the item, "Parents have no right to tell me what to do in the classroom." However, it is clear

from his comments on this and related items that this acquiescence is a function of increasing self-confidence. He views himself as more autonomous. Hence, he does not see the coercive presence of students or the intrusive behavior of parents as threatening.

But what is the meaning of Chris's first response to the item, "I should accept extracurricular and nonteaching duties as part of my job"? He disagrees, and in his comments characterizes these duties as interference with his classroom responsibilities. His second response, in the spring, accepts them as important to his success as a teacher. It is almost as if the first year at Calhoun is the first year of his career. The significance he attaches to extracurricular duties in his success the previous years in Redmont is not convincing.

He may be reacting to the prospect of bureaucratically imposed duties, a threat to his autonomy that similar activities at Redmont did not represent, since he freely chose to engage in them. There is, however, a more basic explanation. The production of a functioning academic unit--one that proceeds through the year at an acceptable pace unencumbered either by continuing internal disruptions or by an embarrassingly low achievement record--is the most compelling obligation a teacher faces. Progress toward this end must be made, and a teacher must perceive and be able to convey to the administration and to the parents the appearance or reality of such progress. Hence, Chris concentrates in the early part of the year on this goal. Since he does not know at the outset how much will be required of him by virtue of the quality of students he will have, he is anxious to avoid extracurricular duties.

The disposition of Calhoun teachers toward the faster sections in a grade is directly related to their concern about the general progress a class is able to make. Chris says that with a fast group there is a narrower range, and "you don't have to individualize very much." Hence an acceptable pace can be maintained or even accelerated. Chris sympathizes with colleagues who have been assigned slower sections; like them, he does not view a slow section as the most advantageous medium for demonstrating his teaching competence. And also like his colleagues, he is attracted to a faster section in anticipation of a more satisfying intellectual content in his teaching experience.

I hope it is clear that the teaching experience is an immensely complex cultural phenomenon, made more so by our disposition to think about teaching and schooling in simplistic terms. The experiences of Karen Albright and Chris Uhlan are not easily comprehended; we have a welter of observations to reconcile. This complexity is one of the central points I wish to make in this study.

We turn now to the contextual settings of the classroom experience, defined here as the school (personified in the leadership role of the principal), the district, and the parental constituency. To be sure, the state legislature, department of instruction, and teachers' associations all play a part in structuring the teacher's classroom experience. In general, however, their role is mediated through the district. Presumably, teachers are also influenced by macrocultural values and role expectations they have encountered as pupils or as teacher trainees. However, I will continue to focus on the interactive occupational world of the teacher.

CHAPTER II. TEACHERS AND PARENTS

Dennison's population of 100,000 is spread over ninety-six miles. In area it is the fourth largest city in the state. The city lies along northwesterly-southeasterly axis bounded on the west by a major expressway leading north to a metropolitan center and on the east by foothills that rise and merge into a range of mountains several thousand feet high.

In 1954 when five adjoining communities voted to create a new city, Dennison began with 22,400 people and within ten years grew to 100,000. City officials predict that the population will double in another ten years and will reach 700,000 by the turn of the century. Their optimism is born of the early years of the city's history. Less than a year after incorporation, the planning commission and city council adopted a general plan of development to balance residential, industrial, agricultrual, and commercial development and to project locations for these functions and for other basic community facilities. They had visions of a model city.

Residential subdivisions were established on the basis of density and location. The greatest density was set at approximately 4.5 families per acre, the least at one family per acre, the latter projected for the most hilly areas in the city where it was assumed wealthier residents would prefer to build. Within a decade seventeen new residential subdivisions were developing and offering homes priced from $12,000 to $52,000. Commerical development was aimed at retaining the status of the commercial centers in the original five communities and in creating a central business district to serve the entire city. Four thousand acres were set aside near expressways and rail transportation for industrial development, which was to proceed at the rate of fifty acres per year. Six thousand acres were designated as prime farmland to be preserved exclusively for agricultural use as far ahead as 1980. Parks and other recreational areas, school sites, and traffic volume and flow were also anticipated in the general plan, which gained national recognition and in 1962 an award from the American Institute of Planners as "an outstanding achievement in comprehensive planning."

Implementation has not been so outstanding. To an observer Dennison has not achieved the distinction early planners envisioned. The great

number of standard suburban tract homes are occupied almost exclusively by white families.

In the first decade factory employment in the city rose from 200 to over 8,000 and retail trade increased five and a half times. But in this period only twenty-one industries located in the city and much of the industrial preserve is still vacant. Only 26 percent of Dennison's residents work in the city. Land speculation is reducing the possibility of preserving the open space originally planned for, and land prices are forcing home prices up. Prime commerical property has risen from $6,000 to over $185,000 per acre. One report on the city made by a university municipal planning department characterized Dennison as "so clearly a specialized enclave for a narrow range of middle class families that it may no longer be possible to attract other groups of people from the general area."

Whatever Dennison has failed to become, most Calhoun parents are satisfied with what it is. They say the city is a nice place to live, especially for young families. It is growing; it has great potential; there are no racial problems and no slums; the people are friendly. In spite of complaints about such things as inadequate recreation and transportation facilities and the excessive influence of realtors in city development decisions, Calhoun parents consider Dennison a progressive city trying to do things for its residents. They were attracted to the Evergreen tract because the houses were well constructed and only a low down payment was required; it was one of the best buys in the area, they claim. Moreover, most families moved from metropolitan centers, and the tract represented a kind of country living they had not enjoyed before. Finally, they were assured of a congenial community, that is, they assumed it would be congenial, because they believed people living in the houses would have approximately the same level of income.

The typical family does not really know what it has in common with other residents. Families in the same block know each other by name, but extended contacts are infrequent. Almost one-third of the mothers have full-time jobs. The sporadic interaction that occurs is generally initiated through friendships among neighboring children. Less than 5 percent of Calhoun parents have in common membership in any business, civic,

or church organization. If their recreational pursuits involve other adults, they tend to be friends from areas or communities where the families formerly lived. These parents live close to each other, but there are few occasions when they talk to each other about the school. They sum up their relationships by saying, "We don't know many people. Everyone works."

They do not speak with one voice when asked about their children's experiences at Calhoun. Some begin by expressing their feelings about the principal:

> We like Mr. Vincent very much and feel that since he became principal the school has improved 100 percent. Our three older girls have always done well in school, socially as well as academically. I have liked Calhoun for the closeness of Mr. Vincent to the students and parents, and I feel that he has done a magnificent job of keeping organization and bringing extra activities in (baseball games, cheerleaders etc.) as well as plays and programs involving so many of the students. For example, the Christmas program has all the students in it, and I really think that is wonderful. I know that it has been especially difficult with all the new students coming in, and I feel Mr. Vincent and the teachers have put forth a supreme effort to keep the school as normal as possible.

> My child just started school, and I think she has adjusted very well. However, I feel the principal doesn't know his job. He doesn't seem to know how to go about getting something accomplished. I've talked with him several times and never have gotten anywhere. This has been concerning school activities. I feel if he can't get organized on these items, he surely can't run the school very well.

Others speak first about the teachers their children have:

> With three children and three different teachers, the experiences were varied. I consider one teacher excellent, one fair, and one poor. I do not care for homogeneous grouping, feeling it is a serious disadvantage for slower children. I also found the principal and one teacher opposed to retention of my very young, immature first grader who was ill with mononucleosis during the first six months of the school year. Their attitude is that retention rarely helps a pupil. My personal feeling, due to experience, is that retention definitely is a blessing to those of at least average ability whose main problem is immaturity.

I feel Calhoun School needs better teachers and of course less children in each classroom. The slower children, in the lower grades, aren't getting enough attention or understanding. In this case, there should be more communication between school and parent.

We have been very unsatisfied with this school. The teachers don't seem to have time to talk to you or your children!

Calhoun school should have more student-teacher relationship. The teachers just don't seem to care much about the children. Just do what they have to and no more.

I believe that my child has learned much from her teachers. The school atmosphere must be pleasant and friendly, because my child enjoys going to school.

Some parents make a list. When they do, they usually talk about things they don't like.

Falling grades. Disappointment with teachers. Not enough play equipment. No time with individual children. Very poor bus service. They have to ride the school bus with foul-talking high school kids. In other words, our children don't have a chance. They're lost before they have a chance. I can understand a little more why they drop out in high school.

I think the teachers are too young and don't discipline enough. Not enough homework. Not enough supervision when children are out on playground.

Insufficient room (space) in the cafeteria to accommodate the children during lunch time, and specifically during rainy or cold weather conditions. Supervision during the lunch hour is insufficient. Washrooms are inadequate per capita of children enrolled. Library is inadequate, insufficient number of books and space.

The academic program is good. They enjoyed riding the bus every day because of social contact and special rules. Both girls like their teacher as well as respect her. The opportunity to meet and understand children with varied backgrounds. It has been a rewarding and enjoyable two years. Whenever there has been a problem, we have worked to eliminate or minimize it. If I sound like everything is rosy, it

> is because it seems so. My girls are only five and six, well-behaved, and good students. I will start complaining about the school when the teachers no longer give my girls good grades and sweet smiles.

These critiques in their totality attend to almost every conceivable aspect of schooling at Calhoun. Each parent has a personal definition of what the quality of his child's experience is. Their feelings coalesce, however, around the teacher's role in furthering the child's academic progress and the school's role in assuring the child's safety, comfort, and happiness.

We will be concerned in this chapter with those processes through which Calhoun teachers and parents come into contact with each other and evolve patterns of interaction adaptive to their own vested interests in the life of the school. As a preamble to the material that follows, it is suggested that two factors are especially relevant to understanding the complexity of parent-teacher relations, local control and professionalism.

The local school board is traditionally the mechanism through which communities organize, finance, and staff their schools. Local control does not, of course, mean complete autonomy. For example, the state imposes a number of constraints on curriculum, teacher certification, and textbook selection. Within such limits the community is seen as the most appropriate polity for affecting a functional educational program. While the local school board is the operating administrative instrument through which community control is represented and implemented, there persists a widespread belief that parents, as individuals and as groups, should participate in the evolution of educational policy and practice. Though teachers are cognizant of and seek to respond to parental concerns, they also experience from parents and the community in general what they consider to be needless constraints on the occupational and social autonomy. At the same time, they are exhorted by the educational community (administrators, teacher's organizations, and colleges of education) to be professional, to see themselves as specialized experts and members of a relatively autonomous collegial body with definite constraints on interaction with clients. Therefore Calhoun teachers manifest ambivalence about schooling as a cooperate venture.

The District Context of Parent-Teacher Relations

Like most school districts, Dennison actively solicits parental involvement in the educational process, at least in the form of cooperation. In the introduction to the Parents' Guide, the Dennison superintendent says:

> Dennison is a growing school district striving toward the best for the youth of the community. Success in reaching this objective might well be determined by the extent to which parents and school staffs cooperatively move forward together. Our mutual good must be maximum achievement by each student. In this light, please accept our suggestions on how the school may aid your child achieve to the best of his ability.

The district informs parents of programs and policies directed at the special interests and needs of pupils, elicits data about their children, and even instructs them about appropriate child-rearing practices. In addition, the district defines both the parents, and the administration's obligations:

1. State law requires a written excuse whenever a child is absent, giving good and sufficient reason.

2. Students may not be excused before the regular dismissal time except when parents have specifically requested such excusal in writing (i.e., religious release time, medical or dental appointments) or where an emergency exists.

3. Calls to students should be limited to emergencies. In cases of emergency, messages will be delivered to students.

4. Pupils in grades one through six may be permitted to go home for lunch. Arrangements must be made first at the school office.

5. In order to avoid releasing children to unauthorized persons, pupils will not be released to any adult, including parents without permission from the principal's office.

6. The Education Code states that any pupil who defaces, damages, loses, or destroys school property, including books, may be suspended or expelled, and the parent or guardian of the pupil shall be liable for such damages. Students guilty of such offenses are not allowed to return to school until the parents have made complete restitution or have started on a program of payment on which the school agrees.

District policies directed at the needs and interests of individual students are described. For example, parents may have their children participate in the program of "released time for moral and religious instruction." The program allows for no more than four school periods in any school month as long as children attend school for the minimum day established by state law (grades one through three, 200 minutes; grades four through twelve, 240 minutes). Pupils on double session cannot be released. Parents must give written permission for attendance and must provide their own transportation. The religious body to which the students are released must provide a weekly report of attandance.

The district has no official system of grouping, but "students are sometimes grouped according to their abilities." The practice differs depending on the school, and parents are directed to ask their principal to explain grouping as it applies to their school.

With the parents' permission, students may be referred to the pupil personnel services, if school personnel feel that a student requires more testing and guidance than is available within the school. Referrals may be made because (a) a student is unable to keep up in school; (b) a student is handicapped in his academic or social adjustment by emotional problems; (c) an individual test is desired to provide a more valid intelligence score than is obtainable from a group test; or (d) there seems to be a widespread discrepancy between previous intelligence test scores, or the student seems to be an underachiever, or the student seems to be extremely talented, etc. Parents are assured that school personnel will work closely with parents concerning referrals, results, and recommendations.

When a child is enrolled in kindergarten, parents are asked to complete a four-page questionnaire on prenatal history and birth, early growth, behavior patterns, health, home life, and social development. The exhaustive questionnaire provides far more data on a pupil than the system can make use of or even process efficiently. In the brochure that accompanies the questionnaire, parents are asked to be supportive of the child's experience in the following ways:

1. Talk about school in a friendly manner.
2. Show real interest in what he brings home.
3. Encourage the child to speak clearly and use complete sentences.
4. Be consistent with discipline.
5. Regulate time for television programs.
6. Take the child on trips.
7. Read school notices when sent home and respond when necessary.
8. Help keep regular hours for going to bed early enough so he gets sufficient rest.
9. Teach the child the safest, most direct way to school.
10. Enjoy stories with the child.
11. Take part in parent organizations or other school activities.
12. Exchange common courtesies such as "please," "thank you," and "excuse me."

The brochure closes with the statement that the success of the curriculum depends on how carefully parents carry out their responsibility in regard to the following questions:

1. Parent's attitudes toward the school are usually reflected by their child. What is your attitude?
2. A child's school behavior usually reflects home behavior. Are you happy with your child's behavior?
3. Teamwork and cooperative action between parents and teachers will create a happier, more secure child. Do you agree?

These documents and others that will be cited in subsequent chapters point to a disposition by the district to express every aspect of the educational process in its ideal <u>form</u> that is, to speak of what ought to happen rather than of what is likely to happen. This reflects the value our culture assigns to public education. I believe it also indicates the difficulties the district encounters in intervening to change the substance of schooling. In more general terms, the culture of schooling is characterized by an

obsessive preoccupation with goals, making it almost impossible to communicate about the reality of those processes instrumental to the goals.

Patterns of Parent-Teacher Contacts

Parent-teacher contacts at Calhoun are a mixture of written communications, phone calls, prearranged conferences, unannounced visits, and chance encounters. District policy establishes the first two days of Thanksgiving week as parent conference days. In the Parents' Guide parents are told:

> It is valuable for teachers and parents to know each other and share the insights that each has regarding the interest and capabilities of the student.
>
> At the conference you will have an opportunity to discuss the report cards for the first quarter. The teacher will want to interpret the card in terms of the student's progress and potential, as well as in terms of present standing in his class. The teacher will also want your opinion on how the student is progressing.
>
> The student should understand that the conference is in his best interest--not a conspiracy against him. An explanation of this may relieve some anxieties.
>
> Parents should also feel free to call the principal at any other time when they believe a conference might be in the best interest of the student.

Teachers prepare for the conferences in diverse ways. The quarter's work has to be completed, report cards filled out, and conference times fixed. A letter signed by the district superintendent, largely a repetition of objectives stated in the Parents' Guide, goes out along with suggested conference times. (Teachers coordinate their schedules when parents have more than one child in school.) If parents do not respond, phone calls are made. The conferences replace instruction, and teachers try hard to see all parents.

At the faculty meeting the week before Thanksgiving, Larry Vincent talks about the conferences. They are to last twenty minutes: fifteen minutes of actual conference and five minutes "to get parents in and out."

Teachers should maintain control over the conferences to make sure parents understand the basis for the grades. They should look for something positive to say at the outset and make sure parents do not talk on through someone else's time. Report cards are to be held until the end of the two days and then sent out at the same time, including those to parents not requesting conferences. Vincent says he wants to see any card with a profusion of D's and/or F's in order to be ready for possible conference requests.

All but 8 percent of Calhoun parents took the time to confer with teachers. In most cases (73 percent) the mother came alone; 14 percent of the conferences involved both father and mother. In 5 percent of the cases the father came alone. All the teachers and most parents expressed satisfaction with the conferences. It is the only time during the year when the school systematically seeks to involve parents in the evaluation of their children. The conferences are important; they reaffirm the ideal parent-school-teacher relationship so basic to the value system of education.

Thirteen percent of Calhoun parents reported that the November Conference was the only time during the year that they visited the principal to talk either to a teacher or the principal.[1] Fifty-three percent visited the school two or three times during the year; 20 percent visited four or five times. Of those visiting the school, 86 percent reported that the reasons were concern about grades and academic progress. Five percent gave questions about behavior or citizenship as the reason for the visits; three percent had questions about health.

A majority of parents (55 percent) made no phone calls during the year; 34 percent called one-to-three times. The parents' call usually concerned administrative questions, i.e., obtaining permission to pick up a child early or setting up a conference time. In contrast, the majority of phone calls initiated by the school (72 percent) concerned grades and academic progress.

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[1]These data come from a questionnaire sent out to all homes at the end of the school year. The response was 63 percent. The questionnaire were followed by interviews with a stratified random sample (a larger percentage was drawn from among first and sixth grade parents).

It is not easy to determine exactly how much parent-teacher interaction was initiated by teachers. Teachers were asked to keep a log of contacts with parents during February, a month devoid of special events (report cards, plays, etc.) that might have generated additional interaction. They reported eighty-eight contacts (eleven of the fourteen teachers kept logs), 55 percent of which were initiated by teachers.

Tom Cole, a third grade teacher in his first full year of teaching, was interested in parent-teacher interaction but was uncertain about what the quality and quantity of parental contacts ought to be. He reported the most contacts (twenty-two) during the month. Of these contacts, eleven were initiated by Cole and eleven by the parents (nine by mothers and two by fathers). One of Cole's contacts was a phone call to inform parents their child was being transferred to a faster reading section and would therefore have a different bus schedule. His other contacts during the month were notes and/or requests for signatures. He notified the parents of section transfers, told them about homework their child had to make up, requested that pupils come early or stay late to make up work, and asked parents to sign homework so he could be sure they were aware of the progress their children were making.

During the month, parents made three special visits to Cole; in most cases notes were sent. The visits were to check on a child's progress, to pick up assignments for a week in anticipation of a trip, and to locate a child who had failed to be at the regular bus loading point. Most of the notes concerned excused absences from physical education or reports on make-up work. In one instance the note was an apology by a mother for not following through on an agreement she had made with Cole about supervising the child's work.

Laura Engle, an experienced fourth grade teacher, reported only two contacts. She thinks it was because the class is unusually good and because she organizes the work so that routine assignments are completed in school. One contact was a note she sent home to let parents know the child's grades were dropping; the parents were to sign and return the note. The second contact started with a note from a mother who suggested that Mrs. Engle exercised favoritism in making out grades. (Her child had not

done well during the last quarter.) Laura called the mother for an explanation, and the mother apologized for having made the accusation.

Most of the teacher-parent contacts seem mundane, but they frequently assume the character of uneven, inconclusive "negotiations." Aside from notes concerning illness and questions of assignments and makeup work, parent-teacher contacts generally deal with a child's progress and are motivated by concern or worry. Either the parent wants to know what's going on at school, or the teacher wants to make sure the parent knows what is going on. In the latter instance, requiring parents to sign worksheets, tests, and other examples of a child's assigned or completed work is a kind of quasi-legalistic strategy that for a teacher serves at least one of several purposes. It involves the parent in the teaching process. If a parent sees the work a pupil has done or has to do, presumably the interaction will facilitate a better performance, although in general teachers feel parents are not able to provide much help with homework. It also protects a teacher from accusations of failure to inform the parent of a child's academic or behavioral problem. Indeed, if a pupil is likely to receive an F on the next report card, a Calhoun teacher understands he is obligated to send home what is called a "cinch" note: a formal letter apprising the parents of the problem. This presumably makes official or "cinches" whatever more informal warnings the teachers may already have conveyed.

Incidents of Parent-Teacher Conflict

Efforts by parents to right a perceived wrong or to "take things into their own hands" are infrequent, but they are significant because teachers tend to view them as intimidating. Each Calhoun teacher had stressful encounters with parents during the past year; several had more than their share, often because one particular parent kept the pressure on all year. These experiences are invariably recounted in the faculty room, and up-to-date communiques are issued if resolution is slow in coming. The experience of one becomes the experience of all, and the forces dividing colleagues pale before the sense of professional loyalty in the face of a parental confrontation. The following are examples of parent-teacher conflict and teachers' reactions:

1. Diana Atwood chose to keep a boy for fifteen minutes after school to finish some work he had dawdled over during the day. She knew he would finish in time to make the bus, but she did not know the boy's mother had come to talk to the principal and intended to take the boy home with her at the end of the day. When the mother arrived at the classroom, Miss Atwood informed her of the delay. The mother said she couldn't wait, marched into the classroom, took her boy by the hand, and stomped off. Miss Atwood was upset at the incident, particularly that the mother would "foul up a teacher's authority, not only in the presence of the boy, but of all the pupils who were standing in line waiting to be dismissed."

2. Tom Cole had a boy in class who kept stealing things from his desk, and Tom kept warning him that he was going to do something about it. Finally, about the fourth time, Tom took him to the office and called home to tell the father that the boy was stealing. When the boy arrived home that afternoon and was confronted with the accusation, he denied it, and the father accepted his word. The next morning the father came storming back to school with the boy. "Larry intercepted him on his way to my classroom, calmed him down, and got things all straightened out so that the father began to realize that his boy was lying after all. That's how I learned how to deal with parents. Now I don't contact them at all any more."

3. In Alice Stoddard's class the children frequently graded each other's papers. As a result one such exchange, Suzie Mason had three spelling words marked wrong incorrectly. Her mother saw the paper and caught the mistakes. She wrote a note protesting the grade and ending with the remark, "She was upset and so was I." Alice said she really didn't understand why parents were so concerned about grades; she felt the mother had little reason to be so disturbed. When Alice showed me the letter, she said she thought I would like to know the kinds of "goodies" teachers get from parents.

4. During the first recess in the morning a girl in Betty Perdue's first grade class fell in a mud puddle. Betty took her to the office and asked the secretary, Helen Roberts, to call home and request a change of clothes. When Helen called, the mother was out, and the father answered the phone. He is an electrician on the night shift at a nearby steel mill,

and Helen thinks the phone call must have awakened him. As soon as she began to explain what was wrong, he yelled something into the receiver and slammed it down. A few minutes later he appeared at the school, rushed to the classroom, and demanded to see his girl. When he asked what had happened, she said a man told her to play in the mud. With that, he stormed into Helen's office, and shouted, "What the hell is going on? It's a god-damned poor school if some man is giving that kind of advice to my little girl." Helen tried to explain what had happened, but he said he didn't believe her, he always believed his little girl, she always told the truth, and someone else was at fault. He began to shout more loudly, disturbing nearby classes. He rushed back to the first grade room and demanded again to be told what had happened. Betty hold him to calm down, because it was no way for anyone to talk at school. She said she didn't want her class to hear that sort of thing. He responded by mimicking her voice and went back to the office, still yelling loudly. Larry was not in the building at the time, but Fred Dyson, the janitor, came by and tried to quiet him. He didn't succeed, but did manage to get him out of the school building.

5. One little boy had a reddish mark near his eye. At first his teacher, Mrs. Ellison, thought it was his mother's lipstick, but later she noticed a similar mark on the back of his neck and one on his arm. It turned out that the child had been into the cookie jar the day before and his mother had spanked him, and when his father came home he took a belt to the boy. Mrs. Ellison said there had been other indications of child beating, and she no longer sends home reports about children's problem in remedial reading because she is afraid of what the parents would do to the children.

6. Laura Engle said she follows the same policy. She solves all the problems she has with children in the classroom and avoids sending a note home about a child's lack of progress. Recently she sent a note home about a child's work. The parents were upset and made the girl do more work, which was not the intent of the note.

Most parental complaints against teachers reach the principal first, and Larry tries to mediate the complaint before a parent-teacher confrontation is precipitated. He describes his mode of operation as follows:

> If the complaint is easy to understand--not complicated--then I promise the parent I will investigate, and if a remedy is needed, I will take action and inform them of the same. If there is some misunderstanding, then I suggest a meeting among the three of us or at least between the parent and teacher. If the complaint is more complicated and if, for example, things have been said which appear to have no basis in fact, then I like the parent to come in so we can talk about it. But usually before the parent does come in, I talk to the teacher and get all the necessary information and background. Sometimes if they are really upset or mad, I just try to get them into the office so they can talk out their anger and calm down. In case a parent gets abusive or profane with a teacher or with me, I keep in a handy place on my desk appropriate selections from the State Education Code, especially the section which reads, "Every parent, guardian or other person who upbraids, insults or abuses any teacher of the public schools in the presence or hearing of a pupil is guilty of a misdemeanor." That helped with one parent this year who was really getting out of hand.

Contacts through Celebrations

Moments when parent-teacher interaction is devoid of the negotiation-evaluation dynamic are rare. They are most likely to be found in the midst of a celebration (or an activity such as field trip), but even in these activities there is not always agreement about what is appropriate behavior.

Halloween is the first major festive event in the school calendar; it is the occasion for a spectacular parade. Children bring costumes and dress up and parade around the school grounds the last hour of the day. Teachers have spare materials on hand for those who forget. (Primary grade teachers usually have an extra supply, anticipating that some mother may not understand or be able to respond to the occasion.) At the end of the parade, parties are held in each of the classrooms; "room mothers" furnish cupcakes and Kool-Aid.

Other celebrations are more elaborate. The Christmas celebration included an evening program in the early part of the week before vacation and classroom parties on the last day. The evening program consisted of songs by the primary grades, a play by pupils in the intermediate grades, a visit from Santa Claus, and a solo by Betty Perdue. The auditorium was crowded, there was great confusion getting the classes up and off the stage,

and lines and cues were sometimes missed, but no one expected a smooth performance. That afternoon, as rehearsals became more hectic, Larry had said that there would probably be some mistakes but maybe that wasn't a bad idea; parents enjoyed it more if the program wasn't too polished and the children appeared natural.

On Friday a Christmas sing was held in the auditorium and followed by class parties. While the pupils were in the auditorium, the room mothers arrived with cupcakes and punch. When the children returned, the refreshments were on their desks ready to be eaten. Throughout the school children ate quietly at their desks, mothers served second helpings and stood around rather awkwardly making conversation with the teacher.

In one class there was an exchange of gifts. Tom Cole reported in a faculty meeting that the room mothers wanted an exchange, so he acceded to their wishes. He said he tried to get the children to limit the price to fifteen cents, but it was obvious some were spending more. Chris Uhlan said he wasn't having any exchange. He understood the district policy was one of discouraging it to avoid embarrassing poorer students and making children feel they ought to give a gift to the teacher. He wrote a letter to parents indicating there would be no exchange. Most teachers followed this interpretation of district policy.

The next celebration was Valentine's Day, and the principal announced it to parents in a letter reviewing the month's events.

> Friday, February 14th, is Valentine's Day. The third and last party of the year will be held. Room mothers and volunteers are preparing goodies. The parties will be in the morning for the a.m. kindergarten. The primary grades (1-3) parties will be held from 1:30-2:00 p.m. Room mothers will arrive at 1:00 p.m. to prepare. The intermediate parties will be held from 2:30-3:00 p.m. Room mothers will arrive at 2:00 p.m. to prepare.

The school customarily puts on two major evening programs for parents in which a large number of children are involved and through which the faculty can demonstrate its interest in and ability to provide for the extra-curricular interests and talents of students. The Christmas celebration had been one such program. Since it had involved mainly primary teachers and pupils, the principal and teachers agreed the next program

should be the responsibility of the intermediate department. Vincent asked Ted Freeman, who was experienced in directing school choral groups, to bring in a proposal.

Freeman's proposal was to use the musical Dr. Doolittle as a theme for encouraging pupils to write a story of their own and to supplement the story with songs from the musical. There followed a long discussion of how each class would participate and what the specific responsibilities of each teacher would be. Throughout the discussion there was frequent reference to parental interest; teachers were sure it would be the kind of program that would bring the parents.

The program was originally scheduled for April, but it turned out to be more complicated than Freeman had anticipated and was finally presented on a Friday evening in June. Freeman formed a choral group to learn the songs, and other student groups were formed to write a script and to design costumes and stage settings. The title of the production became Dr. Domuch. For the performance the auditorium was jammed. Teachers reported that in the following week a surprising number of parents made a point of telling them how much they had enjoyed it.

The following Tuesday was Awards Night. Pins or certificates were presented students for academic achievement (Honor Roll), membership on the student council, good citizenship, perfect attendance, participation in team sports or cheerleading, and the satisfactory completion of the special duties of office helpers, monitors and the like. The auditorium was only half full, and the next morning Larry expressed disgust that so few parents had shown up. He said he had given it a great deal of publicity last year and that the auditorium had been jammed. He had assumed that with more students there would still be a good turnout even if he didn't push it too hard. But he was wrong, and he said he had learned another lesson about the way parents behave.

The last day of school is also a celebration for both teachers and students. The teachers joke about how happy they'll be when the day is over. Since grades have been turned in the previous week, they feel they have a problem keeping the children serious about their work. Laura Engle tells her students that grades on the final week's work will be

sent to the next school or the next teacher; others solve the problem by having longer recesses and more P. E. activities.

Class parties are held in the early afternoon of the last day. Mothers bring refreshments, and teachers try to think of ways to make it special. For example, the kindergarten children might wear mortar boards made of construction paper. Gayle Olson had a luau. She brought pineapple and prepared it during the noon hour. A room mother brought more refreshments and asked Gayle if she wanted her to stay for the party, but Gayle said she prefers to have the children alone on the last day.

The Parent-Teacher Organization

The support and encouragement of active parent-teacher organizations is a basic policy of the Dennison district. The point of view of the district is stated in the Parents' Guide.

> Parent organizations provide a link between the school and the community, and as such a service, the groups solicit as large a membership as possible. You are invited to attend meetings and to take an active part in this vital segment of the educational program.
>
> Several types of parent organizations work with the schools, such as the Parent-Teachers Association and Parent Clubs. All believe in service to the students, and all are helpful in carrying out the educational program.
>
> The philosophy of the district indicates education as a responsibility of the school, the parents, the students, and other individuals and groups. The involvement of the school and the students is relatively easy because the contact is direct. The involvement of the parents is a little more difficult. However, if the parents, the school, and the students can be involved in a three-way communication, the chances of understanding are much greater. This is an end to which we all are working.

Calhoun is one of several elementary schools in the district where there is no Parent-Teachers Association affiliated with a national organization. Instead there is an independent organization known as the

Parent-Teachers Club (PTC). When the organization was started three years ago, the faculty was neutral on affiliation; the parents, however, preferred to have an independent local group.

Calhoun parents have mixed feelings about the usefulness of PTC meetings, and their attendance bears this out. Only 7 percent attend all meetings. (This figure may be high, since at one meeting teachers outnumbered parents.) Twenty-four percent attend frequently, 39 percent seldom, and 27 percent not at all. Participation varies according to residential area. Parents from the housing tract attend more frequently than those from the farm area.

The following statements are typical reponses to the question "Would you express your opinion about the usefulness of such meetings?" Each statement is followed by that individual's response to the question "How often do you attend meetings?

> The only good thing I can see in them is a method of gathering to raise money for extra school equipment. (seldom)
>
> Good value relating to opportunity to meet teachers and discuss child's progress. (seldom)
>
> To get acquainted with the pupil's teachers and members of the school faculty, to keep abreast with the school's new policies, rules and regulations, to make recommendations of improvements, if indicated. (seldom)
>
> I feel it is a good way to waste an evening. (never)
>
> Promotes better parent-teacher relationships. (frequently)
>
> Sometimes very informative but should be aimed more for things like busing kids and safety around the school, not personal problems of kids at school. Mothers should listen to the teachers, not what their kids tell. (frequently)
>
> Most are boring, time wasting sessions, i.e., meetings for the sake of meetings. (frequently)
>
> It makes us understand the importance of all parents working together, planning, and letting our children see we are interested. (frequently)

Teachers are more emphatic than parents in their conviction that PTC meetings serve no useful purpose. Two of them think there is some good in what goes on; the rest are decidedly disenchanted.

> I don't go for them--don't like any of them. I don't like to come at night or on weekends. Parents should stay out of the school, go to college, and learn to teach. They help raise money but then rate the school according to material things.
>
> It's not adequate, but I like a good organization.
>
> I maintain my own contacts with parents, and that is enough. Why bother with the PTC? If you don't have good contacts you can't get them this way. Maybe it's good to raise money, but I'm not socially inclined.
>
> I'm not very enthusiastic about it and parents aren't either. It's a deadlock--no one wants it. The lecture on drugs was good; the earthquake movie was poor.
>
> Such organizations can be effective, but this one isn't. It needs more parent attendance. Parents and teachers do need to get together, and such organizations have been useful to me.
>
> A flop. The wine-tasting parties and social things are silly. In other schools it works well. The idea is excellent.
>
> Carnival is good and raising money is good but not for ironing out problems, it's very ineffective. Parents are not interested in "reading" problems.
>
> It's not very active--the same ineffectual "blah" body most of them are. At the last meeting there were more teachers than parents.

Meetings

The first meeting of the Parent-Teachers Club is held in early October. The announcement carried home by the children urges parents to come early, because there will be "open house"; teachers will be in their classrooms from 7:15-7:45 to meet parents and talk about class activities.

At 7:15 the teachers are in their rooms, their desks cleared, tables and chairs in order, and profuse displays and examples of pupils' work on the bulletin boards or laid out on desks. In Nancy Leacock's room twelve parents have arrived by 7:15. For the first twenty minutes she talks to individual parents as they move about the room, somewhat self-consciously

locating and examining their child's work, looking at displays, and standing around talking to acquaintances.

At about 7:35 Nancy moves to the front of the room, clears her throat and begins talking about the instructional program. Three or four parents sit down in the first-grade-size chairs; the rest stand at the back or along the side walls. There are three couples and six mothers who have come alone. Nancy spends most of the time talking about the reading program (of the three first grade classes she has the slowest). She goes into considerable detail about the prereading program she is using, picking her way carefully to avoid stigmatizing the class. She never mentions that she has the slowest section and does not point out that the other sections have already started to read. She describes what she is doing and emphasizes how important it is for the children to complete readiness exercises in order to build for a good reading experience.

At the end of her description she invited questions. One mother who has stationed herself at the front presses for further explanations. She obviously understands that the other classes are moving faster. Nancy finally concedes this and quickly observes that all children are individuals who progress at different rates in their reading and that any good reading program needs to take this into account.

The conversation is ended by a bell signalling that parents are to gather in the auditorium. Approximately one-third of them go home, and two teachers leave to attend graduate courses in education at a nearby state college. By 8:00 p.m. the crowd in the auditorium is settled.

Parent-Teachers Club officers had been elected in early June of the previous school year. The present--a hefty insurance salesman who lives in the Evergreen tract and has four children in Calhoun--starts the meeting by reading the minutes of the final June meeting. He sketches the proposed year's program, including the prospect of a wine-tasting tour; reads the treasurer's report; and urges parents to join the club "to build up the treasury and make possible the purchase of additional equipment for the school." He then turns the meeting over to Larry Vincent, who announces that the election results coming in indicate that the community will overwhelmingly approve the school bond issue. The announcement draws applause.

Larry introduces the teachers. Each stands up and is applauded. He also introduces the custodian and the school secretary and then turns the meeting over to the president who quickly adjourns it.

The program for the November meeting is a talk by the local police officer in charge of the narcotics division. A notice is sent out to parents informing them of the program and telling them it is intended to be frank discussion of the narcotics problem. To that end, PTC officers ask that all children be excluded from the auditorium during the film and the discussion.

When the drug abuse program begins there are no children present, but during the business meeting proceding the film a mother walks in with two teenage boys. The janitor spots them and alerts the PTC president, who tells the mother the boys have to leave. In the meantime, Larry had talked with the narcotics officer, and they agree that older children can attend. When he sees what is going on, Larry hurries over to the president and tells him it is all right for the boys to stay. The president hurries out the door and invites them back in.

The business meeting begins with the pledge to the flag and is followed by the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting and the treasurer's report. The president informs the group that the December meeting will be a Christmas pageant put on by the school and that Santa Claus will be there, mainly for the primary grade children. He says that last year Santa Claus was available to the upper grades and he almost got killed. He reminds parents that the wine-tasting tour is being planned for May and that there will be no February meeting, because on the week that the February meeting ordinarily falls, there is going to be a magician at school on Friday. He says the officers feel it wouldn't be right to call the parents out twice in one week.

The film is a thirty-minute portrayal of a teen-age girl's fall from virtue. The girl is from a broken home. She comes home one day from school; the mother is not there, but has left a message that she is going out with friends again that night and that the father will be home in a week. The girl appears lonely and insecure, and she responds to her plight by smoking and drinking some of her mother's liquor stock. Then she calls

up friends and invites them to her house. There is more drinking. One boy brings marijuana, and she tries it. Several days later she barely gets away from the police when they apprehend a group of young people smoking marijuana. In the process of fleeing, she is befriended by a heroin addict who is also pushing marijuana. He takes her to his apartment, gives himself a heroin injection, and persuades her to take one. While she is there, a prostitute comes in and begs for more heroin. The addict sells her some and then leaves with the young girl. The prostitute is left behind to take the heroin, and, as she does, the police break in and catch her. The film follows the prostitute through the early stages of withdrawal and then returns to the young girl, who is now an addict, driven to stealing, prostitution, and even murder to get heroin.

The police officer begins the discussion following the film by passing around samples of marijuana cigarettes, marijuana in crude form, and three LSD pills. The parents ask questions about the number of cases in the local schools, the information he has on sources of marijuana and LSD, and the severity of the penalties for possessing and smoking marijuana.

The officer says he is sure that most students in senior high and probably many in junior high know the sources of marijuana. A boy recently apprehended said he could find ten pounds of marijuana in ten minutes, and the officer says he believed him. He says he has the names of approximately 450 young people who have experimented with marijuana or are selling it. He keeps these names in case they come up again in some other respect; he will then be able to correlate the evidence he has in the course of his investigation. He encourages parents to report cases they hear about in their neighborhood and says such reports will be treated confidentially, because this is the primary way he obtains information on dope problems. In response to one question, he says he won't argue that marijuana leads to heroin, but he has evidence he feels indicates that most heroin users start with something less harmful, such as marijuana. He reports that police officers have made visits to all the junior and senior high schools to talk to the students about the dangers of dope. He says he thinks that it would be unfortunate if marijuana were made legal but that perhaps the first offense ought to be treated as a misdemeanor rather than a felony.

During the fall months the PTC also organized teas at the school. The idea grew out of a conversation between Larry and the PTC officers about getting out the vote for the school bond issue. Therefore, the bond issue was the agenda for the first tea held in the auditorium after lunch on a school day. About eighty parents attended. Larry was pleased; there were now two meetings a month of the PTC, and parents were becoming involved in the life of the school.

The program for the November tea consisted of reports from a district school psychologist and a speech therapist on their work with Calhoun children. (Each has a number of schools to serve. The psychologist comes to Calhoun one day each week; the therapist one-and-a-half days.) Attendance was poor; only ten mothers were there. Larry was disappointed and was skeptical about continuing. The PTC officers shared his skepticism, but one more tea was held in February with reports from the school nurse and the reading specialist. Again attendance was poor; fewer than fifteen parents attended.

The demise of the tea was not unexpected given the gradual decline in parental attendance at PTC meetings. Because of the Christmas program, the next meeting was held in the middle of January. It was the first of several that had little or nothing to do with a pupil's experience at Calhoun. In January the program was a forty-minute film on the 1966 Alaskan earthquake. Parents barely outnumbered the teachers at the meeting. The regular meeting in February was replaced by a show put on by a magician, "The Amazing Franzini." In March the PTC "meeting" was a spelling bee. It was a storming night, and so few parents and children attended that everyone returned home and the spelling bee was held the next day in school. In April there was no meeting. The last general meeting was held in May; the program was "Summer Safety," and attendance was poor.

Conflict in the PTC: Background

At the beginning of the school year, Larry had little reason to feel that the PTC would not function effectively or that he would find himself in conflict with PTC officers, but he knew he had a reluctant group of parents on his hands. The officers are elected in the last month of the

previous school year; rather they are drafted, since there is no competition for the positions and there are few volunteers.

Most of the officers are from the Evergreen tract, and they bring to PTC activities varying degrees of resentment that their children have to attend Calhoun. They understood from the realtor who handled purchases in the tract that their children would be attending Roosevelt, a new neighborhood school with excellent facilities, including an all-purpose gym-auditorium. The school is within walking distance from any home in the tract, and the residential area is insulated from heavy traffic. The attractive school was one factor that had drawn many of them to the housing tract in the first place. Furthermore, after they moved in, their children attended Roosevelt until 1966, and the parents had come to know and appreciate the pleasant and forceful leadership of the Roosevelt principal.

As new housing tracts in the area opened up and enrollment pressures on elementary schools grew, the school district had to adjust the attendance boundaries. Calhoun had a low enrollment, so its boundaries were expanded to include half of Evergreen. Bus transportation was needed, because Calhoun was over a mile from the most distant point of the tract; the tract and Calhoun were on opposite sides of the city's main traffic artery, and the school was close to an expressway off ramp that dumped heavy truck traffic into the street all day long. So Evergreen parents watched as their children hurried to a bus stop each morning, boarded the bus, and rode past Roosevelt School on their way to Calhoun. They fumed at bus problems, such as children being dropped off at the wrong point, overcrowding, erratic schedules, and misconduct on the bus.

The experience did not, however, create overwhelming dissatisfaction with Calhoun. While nearly all parents preferred Roosevelt, they were content to wait out the year or two until their children could return to Roosevelt. Larry's problem was that some of the more vocal dissidents were also officers in the PTC. He summed it up this way:

> There were some parents who didn't have a kind word to say about the school, or teachers, or activities, or for that matter, other parents all year long. It was all negative, and unfortunately in the beginning of the year I didn't realize how negative they were or were becoming. It wasn't until January or so that I began to realize how negative--and vocal--this group was, and that they were drowning out positive voices, parents who were contented. If anything shook me up this past year, it was the noisiness of the negative people. Unfortunately some of these people also were PTC officers. I didn't realize what was going on. I thought their complaints reflected the feelings of committee members with whom they were working. But it turns out it was more an individual matter.

Conflicts in the PTC: The Wine-Tasting Party

The two events that appreciably changed the status of the PTC were the wine-tasting party and the school carnival. One cannot equate the two in terms of their effect on the life of the school itself, but in each instance the protagonists had strong personal and social values that appeared to be threatened. The wine-tasting party was a pet idea of the PTC president; he had announced it at the first fall meeting of the PTC and reminded people of it at subsequent meetings. He and the officers hoped for a turnout of close to 100. The winery was about fifteen miles away, and a room had been reserved for late Saturday afte. .n. The tasting was to be followed by dinner wherever groups of parents chose eat. The officers hoped to make money for the PTC. Tickets were $1.05 per person.

It was an embarrassing failure; only twenty-five parents turned out for the wine-tasting--and none of the teachers. Larry Vincent came to the winery, but he went home when parents split up into groups to eat dinner. It was an uncomfortable afternoon for him; conversation was strained, and several officers expressed displeasure at the poor attendance of both parents and teachers. The president expressed their feelings, remarking to Larry, "If this is the attitude of the parents and teachers, well then we might just as well forget it." He had asked Larry at a board meeting why the teachers didn't always attend PTC events and why he didn't make them come. Larry told the board he always informed teachers of the meetings, but under no circumstances would he attempt to make them come, certainly not to a wine-tasting.

The teachers were unanimous in their opposition to the party, and their conversations in the faculty room created a virtual boycott. They were not about to spend a Saturday afternoon that way simply to honor a general obligation to support the program of the PTC. Under the circumstances, any teacher who attended would have been viewed with some disdain. The teachers like wine-tasting at their own pleasure--and they intend to keep it that way, particularly if it involves the use of weekend time.

Parental attendance was not to be explained by indifference alone. Not all the parents drink wine. Some objected to the party on religious grounds; others thought it an inappropriate way for the PTC to raise money. There was no overt opposition to the party when it was being organized. But Larry reported a number of conversations with parents who expressed displeasure at being pressured to attend by the board.

Conflict in the PTC: The Carnival

A carnival was held on a Sunday afternoon in May at the school grounds. The final publicity flyer children took home to their parents read as follows:

Calhoun Elementary School Carnival
Five Drawings every Hour!!!!Twenty Chances to Win
---First Prize---
A $25.00 Savings Bond Free
---Second Prize---
One Months Milk Service Arledge Farms Dairy
$15.00 Value
Eighteen Other Valuable Prizes Such as:
$5.00 Gift Certificate - Compliments Brown's Hardware
Four Free Fabulous Fried Chicken Dinners
$15.00 Negligee - Compliments Jill's Dress Shop
Two Tickets to Star Theater
One Bucket of Chicken Delight Chicken - Arledge
Safe Deposit Box for One Year Free - Exchange Bank
Also Records, Potted Plants, Shrubs, Hobby Kits
Flower Arrangements, Lube Job, and More!!!!

Come Join In The Fun
Coffee - Cold Drinks - Hot Dogs - Snow Cones - Cotton Candy
Live Goldfish Booth - Cake Walk - White Elephant Sale
Twelve Different Booths in All

Boys: Win a Complete Secret Sam Spy Kit with a Camera
Girls: Win a Barbie Twister Doll and Wardrobe!
How???
All you do is guess how many Beans in the Big Jar!
Fun for the Whole Family

Where: Calhoun Elementary School
When: Sunday Afternoon - May 19, 1968
Time: 12:30 until 4:30

Preparations had been in progress for several months. Students had been selling tickets to the drawings in the hopes of winning a prize; bulletins had gone out to parents asking them to donate articles for a white elephant table and canned goods for prizes; merchants had been contacted about prize donations; and intermediate grades had organized and constructed booths for games. Other elementary schools in the district had held carnivals as fund-raising activities and had cleared as much as $1500. This was the first effort at a carnival for Calhoun, and it almost didn't take place.

At a meeting of the PTC board in early February, Larry talked about school activities during the remainder of the year in which parents could be involved. He proposed a carnival as one possibility, and the board was enthusiastic. Later in the month at a faculty meeting, Larry announced there would be a carnival. Each class was to organize a booth, and the teachers were to ask their pupils what kind of game they wanted in their booth. He proposed that once the booth was organized, parents would be responsible for supervising it during the carnival since it was scheduled for a Saturday morning. This brought some protest from teachers; they maintained Friday afternoon would be a more convenient time. Larry said no; carnivals in this district were usually held on a Saturday morning. The protest continued; Larry said if they were really opposed, they could write him a letter and he would consider it. "Anyway," he observed, "the carnival is scheduled for late April, and there is plenty of time to discuss it further." No teacher wanted to come back to school on a Saturday morning.

Discontent among teachers continued into the next faculty meeting a week later. The principal tried to ameliorate the issue by clarifying the teachers' responsibilities in getting the booths ready. He suggested they only had to be there for an hour or two on the Saturday morning. The issue was not resolved, so Carol Weaver went to Larry later to see what could be done. During this conversation she said teacher opposition stemmed in part from the fact that they had not been involved in the initial planning. She proposed that the faculty be represented on the PTC board. Larry said he had considered this possibility but had hesitated to get them involved in more meetings after school. He said he would propose their representation at the next board meeting.

In early March the board sent a letter to parents soliciting their cooperation in preparing for and supervising the carnival, i.e., in baking, collecting, serving, and constructing. The response was poor, and the board had to consider this fact in its April meeting. In the interim the board president had agreed to let two teachers participate in board meetings.

The April meeting is a good illustration of the dynamics of parent-faculty relations, so it is reported here in detail.

> I arrive ten minutes early. Shortly before 7:30, Andy Davenport, the president of the PTC, comes to the school office. Larry introduced me and asks Andy if I may attend the meeting, explaining my purpose. Davenport agrees. Davenport has with him approximately $250 in cash and checks, part of the dues and other funds belonging to the PTC. Larry tells him he can take care of that money in a hurry because he has received a bill for the Listening Post, which the PTC had earlier said they wanted to buy for the school. The conversation between Larry and Andy is characterized by easy banter. They call each other by first names and joke frequently. After a few minutes Davenport departs to open up the auditorium for the meeting. Larry remains in the office.
>
> Laura Engle and Ted Freeman, the two faculty representatives, arrive. Laura asks Larry what the parents think about Ted and her being there. Larry says he doesn't know what she is talking about. Laura replies that when she went over to the auditorium one of the parents said, "My gosh! Teachers too? What's going on here? I'm going home." (By "too" the parent was apparently referring to the fact that I was going to be at the meeting.) Laura asks Larry if the parents know the teachers are coming this time. Larry says they do, because he talked about it at the last meeting and they thought it was a good idea that teachers show more interest in the PTC and come to some of the meetings.

It is 7:30 p.m. We go to the auditorium and the meeting begins. Larry introduces me as well as Laura and Ted. The board consists of one male, the president, and five females, young mothers between the age of twenty-five and thirty-five. They are all gathered at one end of the table. The teachers, Larry, and I are at the other end.

Following approval of the minutes of the previous meeting and treasurer's report, the first item for discussion is the carnival. Davenport says he thinks they ought to call if off, because the secretary reports that of 300 parents only 18 have indicated they will help with the carnival (mainly by bringing baked goods). There is a murmur of support for this position. Andy then says that the officers have done all the work they can and if there isn't going to be any more cooperation than this, the idea should be dropped. Larry asks if he can say something, and Andy says yes. Larry says he understands how they feel, but he thinks the children will be disappointed. They are excited about the prospects of a carnival, and the teachers have been discussing with them the booths each class will put up. Andy says he understands but still thinks it ought to be called off. The discussion continues. Finally, one of the mothers says, somewhat defiantly to Larry, "Well, all right, send out another questionnaire tomorrow, and tell them to answer it by Friday, and let's see what the response is. If we get enough, why, then we'll do it. If not, if we don't get enough by Friday, then we will absolutely call it off." Andy asks Larry if he can do that. Larry say he certainly can. One mother asks him how much response he thinks would be good. Larry says, "Well, if we get 10 per cent or about 30." Another mother says that should be enough. They vote for him to proceed on that basis.

Larry has brought along one of the Listening Posts and demonstrates it for the board. Andy wants to know how long they have had it and whether it is being used. Ted reports he has already used it and likes it. One mother proposes they put one on display and demonstrate it at Open House two weeks hence. Larry says it will be arranged. Larry gives Davenport the bill for $211 and apologizes for having underestimated the cost by $30. He offers to pay the additional amount out of his regular budget. The board refuses, and a check for the full amount is written to the Dennison district.

Andy reports that another PTA has donated $100 for a college fund for the children of a police officer recently killed. The officer was one who gave talks at the district schools about the problems and dangers of narcotics. The board votes $25 for the fund.

> The last item concerns the sponsorship of a Cub Scout pack. Larry proposes that the PTC sponsor it; up to this time he has sponsored it himself. He thinks some organization at the school ought to sponsor a Cub Pack. The question arises whether it is advisable, since so many children will be transferring out of Calhoun at the end of the year. Larry says he feels the PTC ought to sponsor the Cub Pack under any circumstances. Questions of transferral can be taken up later. They agree to become a sponsor.
>
> It is now 9:20, and meetings are supposed to end by 9:00. One mother has already left. Larry asks Andy if I may have a few minutes to describe my present activities. I pass out copies of a questionnaire I am preparing to administer to parents and ask for their reaction. They make useful suggestions about making the questionnaire more anonymous and indicate considerable interest in the results. At the end of this discussion, the meeting is adjourned.

Larry is still convinced parents will support a carnival, and he doesn't want the board to make the final decision. He is happy to try again, so letters soliciting parental support go out for a second time. Again the response is slow, but by the middle of April he can document enough parental support to persuade the board the carnival should be held.

The resolution of the basic issue does not eliminate the strained relations that characterized it in the first place. The Saturday date is changed to Sunday, which is no more popular with the teachers. When Larry first received a note from a parent suggesting the change, he was busy in his office, and the school secretary was about to go to the faculty room for coffee during a recess. Larry asked her to find out what the teachers thought of the proposal. She returned to answer that they were emphatically against it. In a few minutes Laura Engle appeared to state that she was one of those opposed. "Maybe crops have to be planted on Sunday, but it isn't necessary for a carnival to be held, and if it is, I won't be there," she said.

When the PTC board became involved in organizing booths, they began to realize what teachers had known all along: preparations would take considerable time. The board hired a professional carnival company to set up the booths and run some of the games. The company could not come on a Saturday, so Sunday was the final choice.

Board members were aware, of course, of how teachers felt about the date and the carnival in general. One of the officers had come to the school during the noon hour to pick up money collected by pupils through selling tickets for prizes. She stopped for lunch in the faculty room and was seated at the table with several teachers, partly hidden from view, when a teacher at another table asked a colleague about baking cakes. The teacher said she had heard that only thirty mothers had volunteered to bake cakes, and she jokingly asked those at the table if they wanted to bake some cakes. One response was "No, thank you." At that point the mother spoke up. "I'm here. You better not talk about this much more." She smiled faintly and got up to leave. There was an uneasy silence, and then one of the teachers began to talk to the mother about contacting more parents for help with the cakes.

Few aspects of the carnival were immune to controversy. At a faculty meeting in late April, Larry asked the teachers to announce to their classes that any pupil who sold as many as sixty tickets would earn a bike as a prize. There would also be prizes for each pupil who sold the most in his or her class. For any kind of participation--even the sale of just one ticket--there would be a prize, an American flag kit. The faculty groaned, and Laura said that wouldn't be very appealing to the children. Larry shrugged and said the PTC board thought it would be a nice general gift.

The carnival did take place and was a success; over $1000 was raised. The board was anxious to see that the proceeds were allocated for purchases before their term of office ended. In consultation with Larry and faculty representatives, they placed orders for tumbling mats ($400) and redwood picnic tables for the playground ($300) and allocated approximately $300 for the purchase of classroom equipment and supplies to be designated by each of the teachers. Larry announced that the carnival proceeds were far more than had been taken in by other elementary schools in the area.

Analysis of Parent-Teacher Relations

We may assume that certain characteristics of the Calhoun population help to explain the tension and conflict between parents and teachers. They include PTC officers lacking the interest and ability to develop a program of meetings centered on the life of the school and a relatively young and inexperienced faculty. However, neither these characteristics nor the conflict itself predict the level of parent-teacher satisfaction.

Most parents express satisfaction with the general tenor of school life, with teacher-pupil relations, and with the specific results of the educational program, i.e., what their children learn and the grades they receive. Although teachers have occasional problems with parents and are critical of them for being either indifferent about their children's education or too concerned about grades, they characterize their relations with parents as satisfactory.

Such attitudinal expressions must be weighed with some skepticism. There is a "strain toward euphoria" among parents and teachers (particularly the latter) that tends to obscure how the two groups really feel toward each other. Data on Calhoun parent-teacher relations suggest that parents are primarily interested in resource allocation; they are most critically observant of how teachers allocate to their children the available resources, e.g., grades, membership in achievement groups, special help, and the like. The teacher's prevailing interest is intrusion control; they are primarily concerned with structuring, reinforcing, and containing an approach-avoidance relationship. These operating interests do not, however, encompass the complexities of parent-teacher relations, which are characterized by diffuse and sometimes conflicting values, awkward and poorly defined sanctioning mechanisms, and uncertainty about appropriate social convention.

Clearly, the roles of teachers and parents are not as complimentary as the traditional value system of public education pretends, but there are social norms and values that teachers and parents share. Data from questionnaires and extended interviews offer some insight about the functional interrelationship of family and classroom life.

A random sample of parents was asked in interviews to respond to questions concerning the teachers' and their own socializing roles. In response to the question, "What kind of behavior should teachers praise?" parents established the following criteria: (1) quietness, cooperation, and conformity to the rules; (2) consideration and respect for others and their property; and (3) exceptional work as measured either by individual or class standards (for example, teachers should praise a pupil "if he catches on to something suddenly"). These parents believe that Calhoun teachers do, indeed, praise children according to such criteria. They cite the testimony of their children as evidence.

In response to the question. "What do your children do at home that pleases you most?" a majority of parents (73 percent) mentioned behavior that made the household routine more efficient, e.g., cleaning and helping around the house, keeping their rooms orderly and making their beds, feeding the pets, and taking out the garbage. A small percentage (19 percent) responded in terms of more general behavior, e.g., obedience and a good attitude. Eight percent mentioned first the pleasure of observing different aspects of their children's growth, e.g., development of good study habits and demonstration of interest in adult activities such as learning how to sew. The most frequently mentioned reward (69 percent) parents use to motivate their children's good behavior is money, either a regular allowance (ranging from ten cents for a first grader to one dollar for a sixth grader) contingent on performing certain household chores or a periodic small bonus for cooperative behavior. Other rewards include being allowed to stay up late and watch television, going shopping and buying candy or ice cream, and going to a movie. Six percent of the parents said the only reward they offer is praise.

In response to the question, "What kind of behavior should teachers punish?" Most parents spoke first of disobedience and disrespect toward the teacher, secondly of disruptive behavior in class, and thirdly of wasted talents, i.e., pupils who do not take their work seriously. A majority of the parents (87 percent) believe teachers punish children a according to these criteria; however 31 percent wish the teachers were stricter. Approximately two-thirds (71 percent) of the parents do not

disapprove of corporal punishment, but they favor other forms of punishment, e.g., isolation, loss of privileges, and public shame. Those who oppose corporal punishment do so because they believe it is the parent's prerogative; it is undignified, especially in the upper grades; and it is inconsistent with the way they handle their children at home.

Behavior at home that most displeases parents is lying and disrespect, followed by fighting. Other offenses are griping about work, using dirty words, acting hateful toward a brother or sister, not cleaning up, and being very forgetful. Parents report their primary modes of discipline to be physical punishment, isolation, and denial of privileges. A majority of parents report they spank the younger children for more serious offenses such as disobedience, lying, or extreme unruliness. For less serious misbehavior, they take away television watching, send them to their rooms, or deny them the use of toys or bikes. A small number (less than 10 percent) of parents wash the child's mouth with soap if dirty words are used, and one parent makes a child chew on a hot chili for lying. For older children, denial of privileges is more prevalent, e.g., loss of allowance or withdrawal of permission to attend a dance or movie, often accompanied by the imposition of more duties at home.

As desirable personal character traits in their children, Calhoun parents first mention honesty. This is followed by "having moral principals." Of almost equal importance is self-confidence, or in the parents' words" "be able to make own decisions," "developing leadership ability," and social acceptance and concern, i.e., "be liked by all children and adults," "be friendly," "kindness and understanding so they can get along with every one."

We may assume that there are culturally significant differences in the organization, process, and content of "learning" at home and at school.[2]

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[2]Dreeben argues that schools form a link between the family life of children and the public life of adults and that the structural properties of schools, different from those of the family, lead to the learning of social norms functional to the occupational and political world of adults. See Robert Dreeben, On What Is Learned In School Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968). The structural argument is heuristic but does not in this case provide data on the substance of the socializing experience, either from the standpoint of the child or the adult. Jules Henry's writings are especially relevant here. See, for example, Culture Against Man (New York: Random House,

Data on the school and family life of Calhoun families, however, point to an underlying harmony between adult expectations about the social behavior and development of children and the operating norms governing adult-child interaction. Parents and teachers know what they do not want from children: disruptive behavior, which threatens the organization; disrespect, which threatens adult authority; and deceit, which threatens the moral development of the child. They speak in more general terms--and often with less certainty--about what they do want, but there is no doubt about the placement of authority in the two institutions or about how arbitrarily adults may exercise it. But in our culture both parents and teachers often disguise this wielding of power through the process of social manipulation and pressure.

We may view teachers and parents as both cooperating and competing socialization agents. The cultural context of teacher-parent relations provides a system of social norms and values that is useful in the socialization process. But when teachers and parents converge on the child as pupil, their vested interests often conflict and produce tension that is not easily resolved either through a shared value system or through the normal process of schooling.

1963). See also Yehudi A. Cohen, "The Shaping of Men's Minds: Adaptations to the Imperatives of Culture" in Murray L. Wax, Stanley Diamond, and Fred O. Gearing (eds.), Anthropological Perspectives on Education (New York: Basic Books, 1971), for an important discussion of socialization in relation to education.

CHAPTER III. TEACHERS AND THE PRINCIPAL

When observations at Calhoun were begun in the spring of 1967, Larry Vincent was completing his first semester as a full-time principal. He came to the school in the fall of 1966 as a teaching principal, responsible for the sixth grade as well as the administration of the school. By January 1967, the school enrollment justified a full-time principal. Larry's presence and behavior are an integral part of the teaching experience for every member of the Calhoun faculty. The effective "sorting" of teachers, that is, his judgments about teachers' selection, assignment, and retention, Larry views as instrumental to his success, but I shall show how the accumulated "rights" of various Calhoun teachers operate to temper his decisions. I shall also examine in detail the teacher evaluation process and the dilemmas it creates for Larry as the surrogate of the district administration. Finally, I shall show how the principal's management of the school's daily affairs is affected by the teachers' management of their own experience.

Becoming Principal at Calhoun

Larry graduated from a state college with a degree in education, but he was not interested in teaching and entered business. Two years later he left his job in an insurance agency to begin work on a master's degree in elementary school administration. He had hoped to acquire a secondary school administrator's credential but found that would require an extra semester of study. Friends already in school administration also persuaded him that opportunities for advancement from teaching into administration were far greater at the elementary level. He received his credential in the spring of 1961 and that fall began his teaching career in one of the districts that became part of the Dennison Unified District three years later.

At the beginning of his third year of teaching, he was appointed vice-principal of an elementary school that was on double sessions awaiting construction of a new school. When the new school was completed, the double

session at Larry's school was eliminated, and with it the need for a vice principal. He was faced with reclassification as a teacher and a consequent $3000 reduction in salary.

State law requires that in any unification procedure the administrators of the separate districts are to be maintained at their present salary level for at least two years. The Dennison Unified School District was a merger of five elementary school districts and one high school district. From among the six superintendents of these districts, Robert Baker, the only one with a doctor's degree (and superintendent of the high school district), was chosen as superintendent of the new district. The others were given assignments as assistant superintendents and directors of special departments. Personnel at the top administrative rank were assured of reasonable continuity in salary and authority.

This was not true in the lower ranks because of personnel surplus. The old district school boards, to enhance the futures of favored individuals aspiring to administrative positions, hurried their promotions to vice-principal or principal, although their assigned schools did not yet exist. (According to the state education code a promotion is legal as long as the school has been "established"; it need not wait on actual construction.) Because Larry had only recently moved into a vice-principalship, his position was precarious and remained that way.

With the support of his former superintendent, he was assigned a position as an administrative assistant in the district's personnel office; his duties included membership on a committee charged with establishing qualifications for vice-principalships. He found himself supporting a recommendation (five years of teaching experience) that would eliminate him for immediate consideration as a vice-principal, but he hoped the good reports on his performance in that role would mitigate the rule in his favor. At this time it appeared he would shortly be reclassified as a teacher, but subsequent developments kept open the possibility of a vice-principalship.

Calhoun had been closed during the year 1964-65. Enrollment the previous year had been low, and, in anticipation of unification, it was decided to close the school and use the building as the central office of the new administration. But then it was decided to make it a school for grades five

and six to handle expected overflow enrollment in Roosevelt (the other elementary school in the area) owing to the projected expansion of the Evergreen housing tract. Calhoun was to be headed by a teaching principal and was to open in the fall of 1965.

Larry was named teaching principal of Calhoun. He organized a faculty late in the summer and, on a Friday a week before the school was to open, had worked out classroom assignments. When the faculty returned on Monday to complete preparations, word came from the district that the school was not to open after all, because enrollment at Roosevelt wasn't as large as had been anticipated. Teachers were assigned to other schools, and Larry was back in a sixth grade classroom at Roosevelt. At the end of the year it was decided to reopen Calhoun in the fall of 1966, and the teaching principalship was once again open. Larry applied, and when he returned from vacation late in August, he found a letter from the district confirming his appointment. By January 1967 the enrollment justified a full-time principal, and he relinquished his teaching responsibilities.

Selecting Teachers

At the end of Larry's first semester as a full-time principal, Calhoun had a faculty of nine. The student enrollment was approximately 225. Seven of the teachers continued on the faculty the following year. Of the remaining two a young teacher chose to teach in a school district closer to her apartment in the city, and the second, a middle-aged woman who was frequently absent from the classroom because of illness and unable to handle disciplinary problems, was given sick leave. She had tenure, but Larry recommended that the district find a nonteaching position for her. When Calhoun opened in the fall of 1967 the faculty numbered 16 with an enrollment of approximately 400. The faculty now included nine teachers new to Calhoun. How these teachers came to Calhoun is a function of a number of factors: Larry's personal judgment about individuals; his ability to operate within, and at times coerce to Calhoun's advantage, districtwide selection procedures; and the pace of population growth within Calhoun's attendance area.

His judgment of individual teachers reflects his definition of the total needs of the school (as opposed to a particular classroom), his concern for harmony within the faculty, and his biases regarding personality types. His own description of how he proceeds in an interview is relevant to understanding the judgment he exercises.

> When I'm interviewing, the thing I look for first is any kind of prejudice. I really can't tolerate it, and I think after a period of fifteen or twenty minutes talking you begin to get a trend about how a person feels about specific things. That may not always be true. I'm sure I could be wrong, but I still give some weight to that initial feeling.
>
> When I interviewed people for the district, I got a general idea what their attitudes were and if they had a tendency toward militancy, things like that ... things that might upset my teaching staff. If they were headstrong in specific ways, or if they had the attitude their way was the best way and they would show the other teachers, it would seem to me they would be unable to get along as well as teachers who were more flexible.
>
> When I say I am interested in finding out how militant a teacher is, I really mean someone who would come in with an attitude, "Well, we don't like what the principal does or the school is doing and we'll get together and go down to the superintendent and straighten him out." When I say "militancy," I guess it's an attitude as much as anything. If a person is a staunch union member, if he feels the only way for a teacher to do things is to be a member of the union, then this person is going to be a disrupting factor in the school and cause more problems than we can solve.
>
> I'm not saying it isn't anyone's right to be a member of the union. If a person is a member of a union, this is fine--if they are doing their job, and aren't trying to get everyone else to join their side. But if they're going to start pounding on the other people saying, "Let's join up. Let's get together and do this because this is the only way we're going to have our way," that's different. That causes problems for an administrator. It causes problems among the teachers themselves. Pretty soon you have two factions, and then you're always having arguments. Nothing causes irritations more in a school than having the teachers at each others throat. It affects their teaching ability. They go back to the classroom still mad about the argument in the teachers' room. What I want is a group who will come together at recess and have something amusing to tell each other; they all feel good when they go back to the classroom.
>
> One thing I really try to find out about in an interview is how well the teacher is up on reading. That's awfully important

at any grade level. Furthermore, the district is working hard on the development of a good reading program.

As to a candidate's family background and history, whether or not he has been divorced several times, whether or not he likes to drink, that's really difficult to answer. If a person is having problems--maybe he's just getting a divorce and he's young--his ability to teach may or may not be affected. This is where his papers are important, that is, a history of problems in a specific area, having trouble with his wife, or being despondent for one reason or another. You see, if he's had problems, he may continue to have them wherever he is. It's not fair to say that a person is going to have problems all the time, but you have to give some weight to these aspects of his qualifications. You sometimes have to ask yourself, "If this person has problems, do I want to be the person who is going to try to straighten them out? Do I have the time, or should I devote the time to working with teachers in other areas?" If there's something that really stands out as a major problem, you might tend to shun that person.

A teacher requesting a transfer within the district almost inevitably raises a question in Larry's mind about whether there is a "problem" for him. Like other principals in the district, he is pleased if a teacher with a good reputation in the district wants to work with him and requests a transfer to his school. Like other principals, he does not easily avoid the temptation to encourage such a teacher in that interest, but it is a sub-rosa activity that is frowned on by the district. If, however, he has to consider for one of his positions a teacher who simply wants to transfer out of a school, that bears further investigation, regardless of the individual's reputation.

During the summer of 1968 he was searching for two teachers for the primary grades and had only six candidates to choose from. Two of the six were transfer requests, and on paper they were the strongest candidates. They were both from the same school and were openly dissatisfied with the principal recently assigned to their school. Larry didn't know whether it was a clash of personalities, but he assumed it might be more complicated than it appeared. He decided to request only one of them, to prevent the possibility, as he put it, of "bringing in two people who would be talking constantly about their situation over there and making comparisons with that school."

Larry feels a principal in the Dennison district has "a lot of leeway" in selecting teachers, but he has to be aggressive if he wants to bend the process to his benefit. As early in the spring as possible, the district projects a district enrollment figure for the following fall and, on that basis, establishes new teaching positions. With so many new housing tracts opening up or expanding, enrollment projections were tied to the state-allowed ratio of one-and-one-half children per house foundation poured. The district personnel office is responsible for hiring teachers (their role will be described in a subsequent chapter), but the aggressive principal who knows he will have vacancies volunteers to help the personnel department interview teachers. If he finds a good one, his request on the evaluation sheet that the teacher be assigned to his school establishes a priority for him. If he manages to interest the teacher in his school, and and the applicant indicates as much on the application form, he is almost assured of having the teacher assigned to his school.

If he doesn't interview candidates, he is left examining the files of those hired by the district but not yet assigned. If he waits too long (he may have no choice if there is a late resignation on his faculty or the district makes a decision that affects enrollment in his school), he may have to accept a teacher arbitrarily assigned to his school by the district. Since Larry had worked in the personnel department, he knew that the file near the end of the summer was not likely to contain very promising teachers, but, because of district decisions affecting Calhoun enrollment and his own inexperience with the position of principal, that was the file from which he had to select new teachers for the year 1967-68.

In spite of the late selection, he felt he was fortunate in the candidates he found, partly because several of them had only recently been hired by the district. Chris Uhlan was a miraculous find, a "good, strong-experienced sixth grade male teacher capable of directing athletic activities." Alice Stoddard had "very strong papers and a very appealing appearance." The two additional kindergarten teachers, Louise Tyson and Barbara Gifford, were transferring from within the district, and both had good recommendations. Jean Haines, Betty Perdue, and Ellen Mayes, were assigned to Calhoun during the last week of vacation. Gayle Olson came to Calhoun because

Larry protested the original assignment of a person with little experience to the fifth grade position. He already had one inexperienced teacher at that grade and didn't want another.

Ted Freeman came in the middle of the year to take the overload at the fifth and sixth grades. Because he was the only addition to the faculty at that time of year, Larry had time to interview a number of candidates and examine the papers of still others. Most of them he eliminated because they were not male. He wanted male teachers for the upper grades, in this case the fifth:

> One of the most difficult things we had to deal with last year was the attitude of the fifth grade children toward school, toward their teachers, toward life in general. The only thing that picked them up was the idea that they were able to participate in sports and get on one of the teams. Discipline improves and they have more pride in the school. Chris Uhlan is doing a great job but we don't have enough of his type of program, so that's why I employed Freeman. It's really important, too, at the fifth grade because from the fourth to the fifth there is, I think, a great difference in the needs of children. At the fifth grade they really need activities.

Assigning Teachers to Classes

As the school year 1967-68 came to a close and Larry puzzled over teaching assignments for the next year, he looked back on the previous year's assignments as a simple process.

> Last year all the teachers got their choice about where they wanted to teach because they told me what their preference was. Since we were expanding and needed an additional six or seven teachers, I was able to give the ones on the staff the grade levels they wanted. Then it was just a matter of hiring the teachers to fill in the spots that were empty. But this year I may have a problem not so much because of grade levels but because teachers who have had a group of slower children for the year will be hoping that they can take a group of faster children next year. Since we are reducing in size, we're not going to have as many opportunities for change in this area.

The assignments Larry ultimately makes are a product of teacher preferences, his own judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of individual teachers and about the needs of the school, and district policies concerning

assignments. Elementary principals in the district are "required" to obtain permission from the assistant superintendent in charge of the attendance area including their school if they intend to make an assignment contrary to the following guidelines:

1. No beginning teacher will be assigned to the first grade.
2. No drastic shifts are to be made of teachers specializing in particular subjects, e.g., shifting a math teacher to social studies.
3. No shifts are to be made between the primary (first through third) and intermediate (forth through sixth) grades.

These guidelines, however, are only an informal policy; there is no guarantee that principals will ask permission--at least in the view of Harold Jacobs, an assistant superintendent and Larry's administrative superior. Jacobs says if he were a principal, as he was at one time, he would not check with an assistant superintendent as much as principals are required to. He expects principals to act on their own volition, to be more independent.

The subject of decisions regarding the assignment of teachers seldom comes up at meetings of principals under Jacobs' jurisdiction. Perhaps this is because, in most cases, the decisions are consistent with district guidelines. Larry explains:

> I just can't go up to a primary teacher and say, "Listen, I think next year I want you to be teaching the sixth grade." Oh, I can do it but a teacher would be justified in refusing, especially a teacher who has all the abilities of a primary teacher and who has no desire to handle sixth grade boys or girls. It wouldn't be proper to reassign such a person arbitrarily. If I had a good enough reason for doing it, for the benefit of the program or the children or the teacher, I would have to convince the teacher. The last thing in the world I want is a teacher teaching where she doesn't want to.
>
> But I can move a first grade teacher into the second grade without any major problem. I simply tell her I need her experience in the second grade, if that is the case, or if a person is kind of slipping in the first grade and I think the second grade will be easier, I move her. She has no contractual right to hold on to that one grade. She may be assured when she is hired that she will be assigned to the grade of her choice (and the school), but changes in the district may require her to take a different grade--or accept a different school, at least for a

> year. Usually I have been able to say to a teacher, I can't give you the fifth grade this year. Take the fourth grade, and I'll make sure you get the fifth grade next year. They usually accept this compromise--and often wind up sticking with that grade.
>
> If a teacher refuses an assignment I make, and her basis is not very strong, the district can simply fire her. If I persist in what could be considered an unfair assignment, and the district backs me up, she could take the case to the local teachers' association or she might try getting the parents' club on her side. But I don't think any conflict over assignment ever gets so far.

For Larry, a good "fit" between teacher and students in each of the classrooms is a highly desired goal. Class assignments for 1967-68 reflect the consideration he gives to preference, seniority, and experience in his efforts to achieve this goal. Karen Albright continued in the first grade and was assigned the strongest of the three sections, her preference and Larry's, since she was an experienced teacher and, in his opinion, very competent. Nancy Leacock had taught the third grade the previous year but requested a first grade. When it became apparent that at least two sections would be required, Larry gave her the opportunity, with the qualification that it would be the slower section. She said she wouldn't mind if the class were small. Vincent considered her flexible, someone who could work well with slower children. When enrollment continued to increase in the last summer and a third section was added, Vincent kept Nancy with the slowest section and assigned a new teacher, Betty Perdue, a woman with eight years of experience and good recommendations, to a medium section.

In the second grade it was Diana Atwood's experience that worked against her getting the section she really wanted. There were to be three sections of second grade classes. The other two teachers, Alice Stoddard and Virginia Brown, were new to Calhoun and to teaching.[1] Diana had taught

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[1] Actually, Virginia was transferred to Calhoun from another school in the district after school had started. Calhoun began the school year with two sections of the second grade, each with an enrollment of 38. The average enrollment established by the state for the primary grades is 32; state aid is decreased proportionally if local districts allow the average to rise above 32. When the imbalance developed, Larry notified Harold Jacobs, who requested the district personnel office to locate a school with a second grade enrollment well below the average. Virginia was teaching in such a school and as a beginning teacher was most vulnerable to transfer.

one year. Although Larry admitted it was a tossup who would get which section, he decided Diana's limited experience would be put to best use with the slow section. He knew she preferred a medium or fast section--and still does--which means an assignment problem in the second grade next fall. With the reduction next year of the first and second grades to two sections each and with the transferral of two second grade teachers, Nancy Leacock is the likely person to be moved to the second grade in the fall. Both she and Diana are teaching slow sections this year; both, Larry is sure, will want the faster section next fall. He says he has come to assume as a matter of course that a teacher will want a faster section. No one has ever specifically requested a slow group, although now and then a teacher will tell Larry that she doesn't mind taking a slow group. But he takes that to mean the individual still prefers a faster group.

Third grade assignments also reflect the leverage a teacher can acquire through working with a slow group. Ellen Mayes, new to the school but an experienced teacher with good recommendations, was assigned the slow section, because Tom Cole, now a veteran of the one semester with the third-fourth remedial group, sought (and Larry felt deserved) the faster section. In the fourth grade Jean Haines, a beginning teacher, got the slower section, and Laura Engle, the faster section. Larry admits this assignment appears contrary to the reasoning behind the second grade assignments. He sees Laura as one whose temperament and teaching style are best suited to a faster group, one who can move children on to a higher level performance. Moreover he doesn't think Laura would willingly take a slower group.

Until he was able to employ a male teacher for a fifth-sixth grade class, Larry had an insoluble assignment problem at the fifth grade level. Neither Gayle Olson nor Martha Yeatman wanted the slower section, and neither, he felt, was prepared to cope with the problems of the slower section. He assigned the section to Martha because she had been at Calhoun a year, and he hoped she would be able to make use of her knowledge of the students. Her task was made easier the second semester, when the slowest pupils were transferred to Ted Freeman's fifth-sixth class. Larry describes his interest in Ted and what use he made of him.

I chose Ted out of the records I had because he had had experience in a country-type school with several grade levels in the same classroom, and he had had two years of this. He had worked with young people in a church group and had been able to counsel children and seemed to have good credentials.

There were several reasons why I wanted him in that assignment besides his background. I wanted to take a group of fifth graders who had reading problems and put them into a smaller group for remedial work. In the fifth or sixth grade if they aren't reading, then they're having real problems and it's almost too late. You've got to stop and go back and help them catch up. I had in mind a group no bigger than twenty or twenty-five to give to Ted, a small fifth-sixth combination, all of whom needed remedial work. He'd had experience in multigrade level groups and had experience handling children with problems, counseling them, and so on. He was well recommended for this type of job, and in talking with him I saw immediately that he was excellent in this capacity. He has proven to be so. When he was in the auditorium under the worst of conditions and had to gain the confidence of the children who were almost uncontrollable, he did. He has managed to do a fine job of pulling them together, although I must say at times I have had to turn the other way in order that he could handle things in his own way. He had a way of doing things. He accepted certain classroom behavior in order to gain their confidence, and he worked indirectly on developing good behavior habits. I didn't want to go in there and make him more rigid by reacting to how he was handling the class. So it worked out well. He gained the confidence of all children, especially the ones who were really antisocial.

I think there are several ways that I came to feel he was making progress. I, of course, frequently talk to children in my office who have problems. They wind up here, because they're disciplinary problems for a teacher, and some of these kids he took over in his group. They were not sent into my office as often. Well, I won't say they weren't sent into my office ever again, but they weren't sent in by him. When they found out they couldn't cut up in his classroom, be free and carefree as they had been before, they became a little frustrated. They didn't like to lose the status of being able to do whatever they felt like, and so they got into little fights outside on the playground and were sent to me by other teachers. But Ted did pretty well and worked closely with them, and together we talked to parents and got them to put pressure on the kids, and things began to change.

The kids he got from the sixth grade were primarily academic problems. He didn't get a child if the child were simply a behavioral problem. It had to be basically an academic problem, that is, their general achievement level in the classroom based on

> their achievement scores of previous years, their reading ability, and that sort of thing. There has to be enough evidence to indicate that a person would be helped by remedial work, but usually there is not. As far as placing a pupil who comes in new in the middle of the year, well, if the records from the other school indicate that the child is doing average work, then he is placed in Mr. Uhlan's room. A "C" grade would be considered average work, even a couple of "Ds" thrown in here and there, would not indicate necessarily a real academic problem, so long as the child is not more than two years behind in reading level or in arithmetic. At any rate Ted has done a fine job with the group.

We learned in the first chapter of the importance Chris Uhlan and Diana Atwood attach to faster sections. We observe now the persistence with which the other teachers pursue the same goal. To reach this goal, they invoke a basic assignment norm, namely, the reward for working with a slow section is assignment to a faster section If they wish to avoid a slow section altogether, they must invoke seniority by virtue of years of teaching experience and a reputation with the principal that their work with a faster section serves the school program well. Finally, there are personality factors; a teacher may be able to coerce the principal into a favorable decision.

The desire for a faster section is not, I contend, peculiar to the minute sample of teachers on the Calhoun faculty. Nor does it indicate a characteristic low level social conscience among those who go into teaching. I have maintained earlier that the basic explanation lies in the increased opportunity to demonstrate competence. The irony is that our culture "instructs" teachers to demonstrate their competence on <u>easy</u> cases rather than <u>difficult</u> ones.[2]

Evaluating Teachers

New teachers in the Dennison school district must serve three years in a probationary status, regardless of the years of teaching experience in other districts within or outside the state. At the end of that time

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[2]The present national concern and support for various forms of compensatory education may make the slower section more acceptable, but increased social approval does not change the essential characteristics of teaching.

they are granted tenure if their performance has been acceptable. Dennison requires two formal evaluations each year during the probationary period and one each year after tenure has been granted.

The evaluation is made on an appraisal guide and submitted to the district along with information about the basis for the evaluation and the principal's recommendation regarding further employment of the teacher. (See the Teacher Evaluation and Principal's Recommendation forms, pp. 93-94.) The major areas that principals are to evaluate are instructional skills, class management, personal qualities, and professionalism. To facilitate gathering material on these areas, the district specifies behavioral characteristics in each area (see Appendix A).

The attention Larry gives to observing and evaluating teachers reflects the concern the district manifests and the pressure put on him. Teacher evaluation was a major subject for discussion when the principals met with the district staff before the opening of school. Dennison had recently had several well-publicized cases in which teachers had contested the refusal of tenure and the nature of teacher evaluations on which the refusals were based.

When a teacher is denied reemployment, he has recourse by state law to a hearing. (This includes all teachers--even those who have completed only one year.) A hearing officer from the State Department of Education must be employed by the district (at a minimum estimated cost of $400) to conduct a hearing into the basis for dismissal. While the final decision on dismissal is the prerogative of the local school board, a hearing is an event that neither the board nor the district administration welcomes.

The most recent case involved a junior high teacher who was refused reemployment at the end of the third year of the probationary period. (Therefore, tenure was also at stake.) He had received favorable evaluations in his first two years but negative ones in this third year from the same principal, who then recommended dismissal. The superintendent approved the recommendation and the board then voted against reemployment. The teacher demanded a hearing. The hearing officer ruled that the board had not followed correct administrative procedure. The board rescinded its original action and, after following correct procedure, again voted against reemployment. The teacher threatened an appeal to a civil court but ultimately left

Teacher Evaluation

Name _____ First eval. ____ Final eval. ____ Date _____
Years of experience_____ In Dennison_____ Status: Probationary ___ Tenure____
School_____ Assignment _____
Code
1 -- One whose performance is superior. 3 -- One whose performance needs improvement.
2 -- One whose performance is competent. 4 -- One whose performance is inadequate.

INSTRUCTIONAL SKILLS ☐
A. Planning, preparation and organization
B. Knowledge of subject matter
C. Methods of presentation
D. Use of instructional materials
E. Motivation of pupils
F. Teacher-pupil relationship
G. Growth in achievement of pupils
Comments:_____

CLASS MANAGEMENT ☐
A. Class control
B. Growth in self-discipline of pupils
C. Appearance of room
D. Accuracy of reports and records
Comments:_____

PERSONAL QUALITIES ☐
A. Personal grooming
B. Health
C. Emotional stability
D. Voice and speech
E. Cooperation
Comments:_____

PROFESSIONALISM ☐
A. Observance of professional ethics
B. Participation in professional activities
C. Interest in student activities
D. Staff relationships
E. Parent relationships
Comments:_____

COMPOSITE RATING ☐
Comments:_____

Signature of Principal_____ Teacher_____
Date_____ Date_____

Principal's Recommendation Regarding Employment of a Teacher

I. This report for _____ is based upon:

(a) _____ classroom observations
(b) Types of class observed, level, time spent (example: Math-low-30)
_____
_____
_____

(c) Other types of observations (list)
_____
_____
_____

II. Conferences with teacher

(a) Number of conferences held prior to evaluation _____
(b) Was teacher made aware of problem areas, if any, prior to evaluation and what was done to assist him _____
_____
_____
_____

III. I recommend: (a) re-employment _____
(b) tenure status _____
(c) change in assignment _____
(d) re-employment if future growth indicates _____
(e) dismissal _____

Note: If items (c), (d), or (e) are checked, comments are required.
_____
_____
_____
_____

Principal's signature _____ Date _____

Comments by teacher _____
_____
_____
_____

Teacher's signature _____ Date _____

the state. The principal has since resigned from the district. Calhoun teachers view the case as a personality conflict involving a rather aggressive, independent teacher and a conservative principal who suddenly woke up to the fact that if he didn't act he would have the teacher on his faculty forever. In the teachers' opinion it was predictable that an issue of evaluation would ultimately be resolved in favor of the administration.

Calhoun teachers report that Larry spends very little time in their classrooms observing; most of them would like him to come into their classrooms more often, because they want his reaction to their performance and his suggestions for improvement. They are less concerned that he is usually far behind in completing and forwarding the formal evaluations to the district office. The absence of evaluations represents no threat to their sense of job security.

The administration, however, views evaluations, backed up by supporting observational data, as essential to their operation. Hence, Harold Jacobs followed up the before school conferences on teacher evaluation with a study in his attendance area of teacher observations and conferences conducted by principals during the first semester of the school year. The study consisted of monthly reports submitted to Jacobs by the principals. Data from the reports by Jacobs are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. (Only elementary schools are included here.) Calhoun is number 3. The statistics show that Larry's performance on total number of visits, average visits per teacher, and total hours visited was one of the lowest: a record that is worse than it seems, because the Calhoun faculty is the smallest among the elementary schools and has the highest proportion of probationary teachers (seventeen out of eighteen). A principal is expected to observe probationary teachers more frequently. Larry said the study and subsequent discussions with Harold Jacobs influenced him to increase his observations of teachers the second semester and to start the following school year with a plan for regular observations. He said he did have a plan for this year, but then problems "snowballed"--transportation, inadequate rooms and space, disciplinary problems--and he found himself spending practically all of his time on these and other more pressing responsibilities.

Larry describes his own version of an ideal system of evaluation.

TABLE 1

Teacher Observations and Conferences
September 1967 through January 1968

Elementary School	No. Staff			No. Teachers Visited			No. Visitations			Average Visits Per Teacher			Percent of Staff Visited		
	P[a]	T[b]	Total	P	T	Total	P	T	Total	P	T	Total	P	T	Total
1	16	13	29	16	13	29	60	38	98	3.7	2.9	3.4	100	100	100%
2	14	8	22	14	8	22	74	14	88	5.3	1.8	4.0	100	100	100
3	17	1	18	17	1	18	36	1	37	2.1	1.0	2.1	100	100	100
4	11	10	21	11	9	20	49	11	60	4.5	1.2	3.0	100	90	95
5	7	13	20	6	13	19	18	23	41	3.0	1.8	2.2	86	100	95
6	5	16	21	5	16	21	32	76	108	6.4	4.8	5.1	100	100	100
7	10	9	19	10	9	19	43	22	65	4.3	2.4	3.4	100	100	100
8	14	6	20	14	6	20	95	24	119	6.8	4.0	5.9	100	100	100
9	5	15	20	5	15	20	31	59	90	6.2	3.9	4.5	100	100	100
10	12	10	22	12	10	22	44	30	74	3.7	3.0	3.4	100	100	100
11	11	11	22	11	11	22	87	23	110	7.9	2.1	5.0	100	100	100
12	3	18	21	3	2	5	9	3	12	3.0	1.5	2.4	100	11	24
13	16	3	19	16	3	19	105	21	126	6.6	7.0	6.6	100	100	100
14	8	12	20	8	5	13	30	7	37	3.8	1.4	2.8	100	42	65
15	17	5	22	17	5	22	67	9	76	3.9	1.8	3.5	100	100	100
Total	166	150	316	165	126	291	780	361	1,141	4.7	2.9	3.9	99	84	92%

[a]Probationary teachers.

[b]Tenured teachers.

TABLE 2

Teacher Observations and Conferences
September 1967 through January 1968

Elementary School	Length of Visits in Minutes					Total Visits	Average Length of Visit in Minutes	Total Hours Visited	No. of Conferences	No. Per Teacher
	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-39	40+					
1	11	41	31	6	9	98	21	34.6	79	2.7
2	6	22	20	17	23	88	29	42.8	73	3.3
3	0	8	20	5	4	37	26	16.4	28	1.6
4	3	23	33	0	1	60	21	21.0	44	2.2
5	0	20	21	0	0	41	20	13.7	3	.2
6	75	16	17	0	0	108	10	18.2	21	1.0
7	0	39	21	2	3	65	20	21.7	38	2.0
8	7	50	48	4	10	119	22	43.6	64	3.2
9	0	36	42	7	5	90	23	34.5	64	3.2
10	22	21	31	0	0	74	16	19.7	30	1.4
11	15	65	17	1	12	110	18	33.0	62	2.8
12	0	4	4	1	3	12	28	5.6	16	3.2
13	11	65	45	5	0	126	19	39.9	56	2.9
14	1	25	11	0	0	37	24	14.8	20	1.5
15	1	40	32	3	0	76	20	25.3	74	3.4
Total	152	475	393	51	70	1,141	21	384.6[a]	672	2.3

[a]The average number of hours of classroom visitation per school was 25.6.

If I had all the opportunity in the world and time to work out a system of evaluation, I think I would do it this way. Let's assume we're talking about a first-year teacher--a lady teacher. Before I hire her I get a general background. I will probably know that there are some areas she is not sure of, some areas she wants help on. So a plan of action will be an outline in my own mind of helping this person in a particular area. When she reports to school at the end of the summer, I will talk to her to find out what approaches she is already planning to use, particularly in those areas where I think she will need help. Then after trying to build her up, build up her morale to let her go into the classroom initially and go ahead and work on things herself, I contact her during the first week to see if she is having any major problems in those areas. If she has a major problem, and we can't stop and talk about it or I can't get a hint as to what the problem is, I go into the classroom and start observing.

Then I give her hints as to how to straighten it out. If I can give her hints, she can take them back and work on them. What I try to do is let her feel her own way in the beginning and make mistakes and find and test different ways of doing things, because then if she succeeds and is satisfied and happy the way things are going, fine. If she has problems she is aware of, then I'm interested in having her work on each problem.

Ideally, as far as observations are concerned with a new teacher--this hypothetical case--if I had the time, I would do it at least twice a week or maybe more for a period each time of ten to thirty minutes, and sometimes more often for briefer periods. If they are having problems in a particular area, I might just drop in for a few minutes or so. As to whether or not these visits are planned is up to me alone. It depends on the kind of person. If I think she is the kind of person who might put on a show for me, I might tend to drop in on her unannounced. But it it's just a matter of my putting her at ease and kind of letting her know that I'll be in in a couple of days, why then I prefer to do it that way.

Ideally, when I make all these observations, I would make records of them. That's what I'm supposed to do now, but there just simply isn't time. Ideally, after each observation, if not immediately afterwards, there should be time or time made to talk with each teacher about my observation, so they can react to what I'm seeing and we could talk about whether or not we're seeing the same thing.

Each time I go into the classroom, I am not only working on something, but trying to add to what I know about the classroom. I am looking at the appearance of the room, or the condition of the room--the temperature, whether the windows are open or closed, if the floor is exceptionally dirty, if the kids are sucking on crayons, how much and what kind of noise and movement there is.

> Some classrooms can be the noisiest classrooms you ever saw, but they may be the ones where the most learning is going on. If I have a quiet classroom and no learning, it's like having a baby sitter in there.

Larry's difficulty in finding time to observe his teachers does not, however, leave him with the uneasy feeling that he doesn't know what is going on in classrooms or how well a teacher is faring. Whether or not he is actively involved in selecting a teacher, he has full confidence in the district's screening process; he thinks it would be rare to get a teacher who couldn't do at least an "adequate job." He also is continuously making "observations" that do not involve his presence in the classroom. The assurance and efficiency with which a new teacher begins the year, the sense of organization and purpose conveyed, and the absence of questions that reveal anxiety are evidence to him that there are no problems, at least at the outset. Such evidence is reinforced during the year through encounters Larry has with a teacher outside the classroom--conversations in the faculty room, discussions at faculty meetings, chance meetings in the hallway--and by the opinions of other teachers and the frequency with which pupils in the teacher's class are sent to the office. Finally, he says, he can find out a lot about teachers simply by wandering up and down the halls and "getting a feel for what is going on in the classroom, at least when the door is open."

We observed together on two occasions early in November I stopped at the faculty room on my way to spend the morning in Alice Stoddard's second grade class. Larry was there alone and asked me where I was going. When I told him, he said he was going there himself to observe for the first time. He went on to say that he thought Alice was a fine teacher, remarkably good for someone with no experience. We went to the classroom and sat down in the back. Larry remained for most of an hour and broke his silence only to lean over and ask me if the children were always so quiet or if I thought their behavior was affected by his presence. I told him it had been a quiet classroom whenever I had observed.

The second occasion was Ted Freeman's fifth-sixth class on a morning late in February. When we entered the classroom Ted was beginning a period of language arts. The sixth graders were writing articles for a magazine

the class was producing, and Ted was standing in front of the two fifth grade rows preparing to work with them on vocabulary. We sat down in the back of the room. As soon as the pupils realized Larry was going to remain they became quieter than I had ever observed them to be. There were few disturbances during the period; four times Ted interrupted his lesson to tell some of the sixth graders to go back to work or to talk more quietly. After the pupils had been dismissed for recess, Ted came to the back and said he wished Larry were in there every day.

Retaining Good Teachers, Eliminating Poor Ones

For Calhoun teachers the system of evaluation represents no real threat. It is meaningless from the standpoint of promotion, since salary increases are based on years of service and units of graduate study earned. It is doubtful that even the question of tenure is threatening. A teacher has to be clearly incompetent not to be rehired at the end of the first year. In 1967-68 more than half of the teachers in the Dennison district (over 600) were not tenured. Of these, six (or less than 1 percent), were rated unacceptable and persuaded by the district personnel officer to resign at the end of the school year.[3] Voluntary resignation works to the advantage of both the district and the teacher (unless of course a teacher wishes to remain in the district and can make a strong case that the judgment of the district is unwarranted), because the district avoids the prospect of a hearing, and the teacher's papers will be forwarded to another district without prejudice.

Due process requires that the case against a teacher whose performance is rated unsatisfactory must be based on evidence, that is, a convincing file of observations made by the principal. The system creates a painful ambivalence for the principal. At some time in the school year he must

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[3]These were teachers whose performances were unacceptable but who did not indicate intention to resign. Among those who did resign, there were undoubtedly teachers who in the course of the year decided themselves, or were convinced by their principal, that it was in their best interests to resign.

contemplate a point of no return and decide that he does not want the teacher on his faculty. He is obligated to help her improve her performance and at the same time to make sure he has adequate evidence to convince her and the district that she will not improve at an acceptable rate. How competent the teachers feel the principal is to evaluate their teaching is germane to their acceptance of his judgments about their teaching. Teachers are seldom in a position to judge the principal as a classroom teacher. Consequently, they must judge his competence as an evaluator in terms of his ability to communicate teaching expertise. Interview and questionnaire data reflected some differences among Calhoun teachers with respect to the expertise of Larry Vincent, but the majority indicated that they thought they knew at least as much as he did about teaching.[4]

Larry expressed his views on the problem.

> Whether or not we have generally competent teachers and whether those who aren't competent are weeded out because they are refused tenure, is not easy to answer. I think we're becoming more...aware of the fact that we have to maintain minimum standards and these minimum standards have to be raised quite a bit as far as picking a teacher is concerned, because once you've given them tenure, you're stuck with them. The question is, "What are they doing right in the classroom?" If they're not doing anything, or they're doing just an average job...then this is not the type of a teacher we want in the district. Now it's a very difficult thing to become a hatchet man, but that is what it takes to rid the school of a person who was hired because he was superior. The district claims all they hire are superior people. If this person turns out to be inadequate or just average, it is a difficult task to get rid of him.
>
> Probably one of the flaws in my personality makes it difficult for me. I tend to feel that I give a person a chance to prove himself without getting on his back, so to speak...I feel that if I see something wrong and kind of make the person aware of it,...that will straighten it out,...he will simply change.

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[4] Lortie makes the point that "the relatively unrationalized nature of teaching technique" restricts interventions by administrative superiors. See Dan C. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching" in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, ed. Amitai Etzioni, (New York: Free Press, 1969), p. 9. His discussion of control and autonomy is directly relevant to the characterization of the teaching experience being developed here. He concludes that although the teacher's autonomy is considerable, it is fragile and "possesses no legitimation in the official statement of authority distribution in American public schools" (p. 41).

But of course it doesn't happen this way. What I have to do and what the district definitely wants us to do is to set up certain standards, and if the teacher is falling below them, to make it apparent to the teacher that he is falling below. Work with a teacher, work on a program to improve his performance to where it is superior. If the teacher, after you have worked with him, still does not improve, then he probably ought to go.

But then everything has to be documented....The kind of documentation that is needed might be as follows. You make an observation. It says that on such and such a date it was noticed that there was a lack of control during the PE period. The boys were definitely not following directions, and the teacher was playing jumprope with the girls and not paying any attention to the boys. This should be remedied and a program encompassing all of the children, where they are all under control, should be followed. Here are some of the things to do. And you list a few things. But then, of course, a teacher has to sign it. She doesn't have to sign it and agree with me. She can put down, "I disagree with this observation," and sign it, but she does have to see it and sign that she has seen it. I really find the whole process extremely difficult.

In the first year I had one teacher where documentation was not necessary because the teacher was not legally assigned to this school; she was not chalked up against my ratio. I was simply told at the beginning of the year that I should be seeing if I could use her, seeing if she could be of help to the school. That was when I started out as a teaching principal. Well, at the end of the year I evaluated her. My evaluation was based on more than just a performance. It was based on compassion because the whole situation was thrust upon me and I had to sort of work out a situation I wouldn't have chosen myself. So I didn't feel it was up to me to document and remove that person from teaching in the district completely, although it was in my power at that time to do it. It wasn't that person's fault; it was my own fault because that person didn't have to take over completely. She was here as kind of a supplementary teacher, and she could be used in any capacity because there was pupil growth coming in this area. Well, I thought in the beginning as soon as she got used to things, she could take more and more of the burden off me as a teaching principal and she could take over my class. But when she did, things began to change and problems became worse, not better. She began to have personal problems, her health began to fail, and this caused a new chain of reactions. I guess I allowed myself to kind of drift along or give in to the situation, and I shouldn't have. At any rate I just let her go on for the rest of the year. There were days when I thought she wouldn't last.

The district concurred in Larry's recommendation at the end of the year that this teacher not be returned to the classroom, and her physical disabilities provided a legitimate pretext for giving her sick leave and eventually locating her in a nonteaching assignment. In spite of her manifest incompetence, Larry had been reluctant to act before the year ended. It was an experience he didn't have to face the next year, when, by contrast, he was confronted with more resignations than he had anticipated.

The two fifth grade teachers, Martha Yeatman and Gayle Olson, resigned from teaching altogether. During the year they both had expressed uncertainty about teaching as a career. Although Larry talked to them about their classroom problems, he did not encourage them to resign. He felt he had a good faculty, these two included, and assumed they would both be back the following year. In the spring when the deadline for contract renewals came up, Martha informed Larry she would not return; Gayle said she couldn't decide but thought she might leave. Larry hoped she would change her mind and didn't press for a decision. He was disappointed and irritated, he said, when she resigned after the end of school.

Two other teachers, Alice Stoddard and Ellen Mayes, requested transfers within the district, both because they were dissatisfied with what they called a lack of direction in Larry's leadership. The issue, however, was never openly discussed. Alice's pretext was a special primary program in another elementary school. Early in the spring she put through a transfer request, so Larry knew she would be leaving. Ellen had talked about transferring to a school with more modern facilities, but Larry said he didn't press the point, hoping she would stay on. A week before the end of school, she submitted her transfer request, and it was acted on favorably by the district. Thus Larry found himself in much the same position as as in the previous summer, with positions to fill and a limited choice of of teachers.

Teacher Obligations and School Routine

Pronouncements: The First Faculty Meeting

The district's schedule of orientation meetings ended on a Thursday afternoon in early September with separate faculty meetings at each of the

schools. Calhoun teachers gathered in the cafeteria at 2:00 p.m. Larry's introductory remarks covered the following points:

1. He assured teachers he would always be available for consultation of any kind. If they wanted to speak about something in confidence they could come into his office, close the door and speak freely without fear that their confidence would be violated.
2. Faculty meetings were scheduled weekly on Tuesday afternoons, but he did not think they would have to meet every week. He intended the meetings to be "short and to the point" and to be called only when they had something to take care of.
3. Copies of the new salary schedule would be available soon. The 6 percent increase, he said, was certainly an improvement.
4. For the benefit of new teachers he described the district's representative assembly, an informal organization initiated by the superintendent and made up of representatives from each school in the district.[5] Larry pointed out that it was available as a channel for direct discussion of problems, complaints, or suggestions teachers had. He reminded the faculty that Carol Weaver had been elected by the Calhoun faculty to represent them in the assembly.

Following these remarks, he handed out a list of the teachers, a bell schedule for the school, class schedules for the primary and intermediate grades, a schedule of recess and bus duty assignments for the first two months, and a Teacher's Guide containing pertinent information about school organization and routine. The rest of the meeting, nearly two hours, was taken up by Larry's review of the Calhoun Teachers' Guide.

The guide lists five functions of the faculty council:

1. Assist Principal in planning and organizing programs.
2. Bring to the attention of the Principal things that need work.
3. Help prepare agenda for faculty meetings.
4. Suggest information for parent bulletins.
5. In general, be interested in the good of the school children and teachers of the Calhoun school.

Larry announced that he had formed the council this year in the hopes that a small, representative group could help him carry out his responsibilities more effectively. He said Carol was to represent kindergarten teachers; Karen, the first and second grades; Laura, the third and fourth grades; and Chris, the fifth and sixth grades.

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[5] See Chapter IV for a fuller discussion of the organization.

He next reviewed the rules on bus behavior:

1. The bus driver by state law has the authority to enforce proper behavior of students riding on the bus.
2. Keep your head and arms inside the bus.
3. Students must remain seated while the bus is in motion.
4. No "horseplay" of any kind will be allowed on the bus.
5. No material shall be thrown from the bus or in the bus.
6. No eating or drinking is permitted on the bus.
7. Do not disturb the bus driver while he is driving.

A discussion ensued about whether teachers having bus supervision should require students to line up and wait for the buses. Larry said he thought it would be a good idea for them to line up for the first few days until they were used to the procedure; then teachers could decide themselves when to allow students to play while waiting for the buses. He also said that last year the student council had made signs to use in announcing the arrival of each bus. He asked Chris Uhlan, faculty advisor to the council, to see that new signs were prepared.

The next section of the guide lists general rules for students.

1. Damage to school property, whether done through malice or carelessness, must be reported at once. Such damage involves the obligation of payment by the parents or guardian.
2. While coming to and from school the student reflects, by his conduct, the good name of this family and school. Good conduct is expected by the school authorities, and any violation of good conduct will be treated as though it occurred at school.
3. Gum-chewing is not permitted at any time on the school grounds.
4. Transistor radios may not be brought to school unless specifically requested by a teacher.
5. Students are not allowed in the halls during lunch period or recess without permission of duty teacher.
6. Students may not come to the office without specific permission from a teacher or noon supervisor.
7. Lost and Found articles may be claimed in the office only after school. 2:00 bus children may be dismissed a few minutes early to come to Lost and Found office so as not to miss bus.
8. Tanbark is not to be thrown.

Larry emphasized that he wanted the rules read very carefully to each class on the first day and that he would be checking with students during the week to see if they know about the rules. He told the teachers to make sure the students understood they were not to throw tanbark.[6]

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[6]During the summer a play area, approximately 1500 square feet, was constructed in the middle of the playground. Swings and climbing bars were installed. A six-inch layer of redwood chips (tanbark) provides a cushion

The section on general rules is followed by one on school rules, which specifies rules governing behavior in particular circumstances.

Play Area

1. Students are to play only in their assigned yard.
2. Running or playing in the halls is not allowed.
3. Bikes are not allowed on the school grounds.
4. Knives, sling shots, matches, or other dangerous objects are not to be brought to school.
5. Throwing of rocks, gravel, grass clods, dirt, or sand is not permitted.
6. Fighting is forbidden. Play-fighting is forbidden.
7. Playing at the drinking fountains is not allowed.
8. Playground balls are not to be thrown or kicked against the school building.
9. Proper use of equipment:
   a. one to a swing
   b. no running up slide, etc.
   c. form lines for use of equipment
   d. keep swing area clear
   e. no jumping from swings
10. Roughhouse games not allowed (take-away, etc.).
11. Freeze when you hear the bell (the game is over). When the teacher blows the whistle students walk over quickly to their line.
12. Students leave the play area only when going to the rest rooms.
13. Students are not allowed in the front area of the school during recesses, lunch period or after arrival.

Classroom

Children are to observe the rules established by the classroom teacher.

Lunch

1. Students must eat their lunch at the table assigned to their class in the cafeteria.
2. All papers, peelings, and other refuse must be put into trash cans.
3. Students are not to play at their lunch table.
4. Students eating bag lunches must remain on bench area assigned to their class until dismissed. Dismissal will be made only if their area is clear of refuse and paper.
5. Students are not to talk during lunch.

Discussion of play area rules centered on specifying playground areas reserved exclusively for either the primary or the intermediate grades. Intermediate grades occupy the portable classrooms behind the original building next to the ball diamond. Since they have a different recess

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against injuries from falls. New teachers on the faculty from out-of-state were unfamiliar with tanbark. Larry interrupted the discussion to show them where it was located.

period from the primary grades, they are assigned to the area around the diamond and excluded from the paved area next to the primary classrooms, to avoid disturbing the younger children in class. The use of the swings was also discussed; standing up or having two students on a swing were ruled out. Larry asked that teachers deny use of the swings for a specific period for violations of these rules.

Larry said it was up to each teacher to develop his own classroom rules. He hoped, however, that rules would be fair and their enforcement firm and consistent. Lunch rules are to be enforced by two aides employed by the district to supervise the cafeteria and the playground during the lunch period. Larry pointed out that the aides (usually mothers hired on an hourly basis) are in complete charge, but if their supervision should break down, teachers will be called on to help. He reminded them the lunch period extends for forty-five minutes but that state law requires only thirty minutes at noon free of supervising duties for teachers.

By then the faculty meeting had extended past 4:00 p.m. Larry apologized for the length of the meeting and invited the teachers to talk to him if they had questions about other sections of the guide. He adjourned the meeting with the request that their lesson plans be made out each week, entered in a folder provided by the district, and placed on the teacher's desk where he could find it whenever he visited a classroom.

Adaptations

State law requires teachers to be at school one half hour before classes begin and to remain at least one half hour after the last class ends. Usually two or three Calhoun teachers are in the faculty room or their classrooms at the morning deadline. The majority of them arrive during the first fifteen minutes. It is a rare instance, however, when a teacher risks the displeasure of colleagues and the principal by leaving before the afternoon deadline. Two teachers are always on duty the last half hour supervising the children waiting for buses. This obligation is a constant source of irritation; the restless deportment of the children in line make it a trying experience, and schedule mix-ups often result in overtime duty. Under these circumstances, any teacher not on duty who wishes to leave does so only with a good excuse and Larry's permission.

During the first two months of school, Larry "took attendance" most mornings by visiting with teachers in the faculty room before the first bell. If he missed someone, he checked the classroom. Early in November he instituted a sign-up sheet in the secretary's office. It is a common practice in the district, saves the principal time, and enables him to anticipate a substitute. If teachers are to be absent, they must phone the district personnel office, which maintains a telephone tape recorder for late evening and early morning calls. After a substitute is obtained, the district informs the school. If a teacher calls in late, after 8:00 a.m., the substitute is likely to be late. When that happens, Larry supervises the class until the substitute arrives.

The requirement to sign out in the afternoon is intended to discourage teachers from leaving early. The principal also hopes the routine will encourage teachers to pick up notices in their mailboxes regularly, particularly messages to be sent home with the children.

The state education code requires adult supervision of children's play during recess periods, an obligation that the Calhoun teachers rotate on a weekly basis, like bus duty. (It works out in both cases to one week on and two weeks off.) The code also stipulates that children are not to be punished by restricting them to the classroom during recess and that when children are in the classroom they are to be under the supervision of a teacher or some qualified adult. In both instances Calhoun teachers make exceptions. A particularly unruly class may be held back during the first few minutes of recess, an infrequent decision because it diminishes the teacher's respite in the faculty room. Teachers frequently make use of extralegal arrangements during rainy days. The school has no facility where children can congregate and play in inclement weather, so they must remain in the classrooms. While teachers often choose to remain with them, they like to get out of the classroom for a coffee break. To accomplish this, they trade off, with one of them agreeing to supervise three classrooms while the other two have coffee; the teacher on duty moves from room to room to keep order. Primary teachers also make it a practice to call on the more responsible children from the fifth and sixth grades to supervise their rooms during recess. Larry agrees this practice circumvents regulations but accepts it in the interest of better teacher morale.

Teachers do not always find it easy to protect the sanctity of the thirty minutes officially allowed them during lunch. When the noon bell rings, teachers accompany the children to the cafeteria and remain with them long enough to see that they are proceeding through the line in orderly manner. Then most teachers buy a lunch themselves and retire to the faculty room, hoping to have the period free from school matters. But the faculty room is next to the cafeteria, and teacher talk is frequently interrupted by the shrill whistle the noon aide uses to demand quiet from the children. There is often an abrupt knock on the door that opens from the faculty room onto the playground area; children who have finished eating and are at play suddenly remember something they have to ask or tell a teacher or they want to report a fight that has broken out. In the latter instance, teachers usually respond. If it is a forgotten message, they remind the children that they are not to contact teachers during the noon hour and firmly close the door.

Adaptations to their official obligations continue for Calhoun teachers through the last day of school. The teaching year includes a final work day after classes are over. Teachers are paid for a full working day and are required by the district to be at school for the entire day. There is always a question whether a teacher can be excused to leave early on vacation or for some other reason. The district policy is that they cannot be and that there should be no exceptions. Two teachers at Calhoun asked Larry if they could have the last day off. He said he could not make any exceptions. He said he might recommend that they come in to work the previous Sunday in order to get everything done, but they didn't want that kind of recommendation to go through to the district. On the last day they simply weren't there. Larry said they had completed their work; their records were in excellent shape; their classrooms were all straightened up; and their materials were put away. He added that if the district asked for attendance records, he would have to report the two as absent, but he doubted that the district would ask.

Managing and Sorting Students

If a noon aide is absent and calls too late for a substitute to be found, Larry supervises the playground. His management of student behavior is almost always in response to a teacher's judgment; playground supervision affords him an opportunity to impose his own judgment. With older children who violate playground rules, he is direct and forceful; with younger children, he is more conciliatory. One day in early May, he was in the middle of the playground watching the children play. Four second grade boys suddenly crowded around him with news of trouble. Two of them had been fighting, and the others were cooperating witnesses. Larry began the adjudication process by dismissing the witnesses and the onlookers who were beginning to congregate. He took each boy by the hand and invited depositions. They were given with feeling, and Larry had to restrain the interruptions of each while the other presented his version. When the testimony was completed--neither had conceded any guilt--he told them there was to be no more pushing and slapping and asked them if they were still mad at each other. They looked at each other but were speechless. He suggested they shake hands, which they did, and he dismissed them.

He describes his involvement in problems of disruptive behavior that come to him through the teachers in the following way:

> I'm empowered to suspend a boy for three days at any one time. I did suspend someone this past year, but I didn't make out a suspension report. It was just something between the parents and me. The offense was mainly fighting, but I don't even remember the complete details.
>
> A teacher can suspend a child for one day, a maximum of one day for anything that seems justifiable. She can just send the child to me and say, "I'm suspending him from my classroom for such and such a reason." Then it is up to me to send the child home because a teacher has the right under the state law to do this and it would be in very poor taste for me not to follow the teacher's needs in that respect. If the teacher is not justified, then this is a question I have to settle with a teacher. I'd have to try to work out some means of taking care of the child while I am getting the teacher straightened out. In other words, if the teacher is unjustified and just can't stand the kid that day for any specific reason, and the child has not really done anything bad enough to be suspended, then

it is up to me to talk with the teacher and get the teacher straightened out. If a teacher accuses a kid unjustly, and the student denies it, well, I guess the first thing I'd think of is to pray that it comes out all right. I'd have to do a complete investigation. If the child denies it, the teacher has to give me proof that the child did do what the teacher is accusing him of, so that I can confront parents with the proof. It would be foolish to say to a parent, "The teacher says your child did such and such. I don't know whether this is true or not, but your child is suspended today."

If the teacher says, "I saw him do this," that is enough proof for me ...if I have confidence in the teacher. If I don't have confidence in the teacher, then I shouldn't have the teacher on my staff....If it isn't anything major which has to be treated immediately, I generally try to find time to talk to the teacher at recess, because it's very difficult to talk to the teacher outside the classroom during class hours. If it is a major problem, if, for example, a kid brings a gun to school and the teacher discovers it, I would take it away and send him home. Obviously that would be something that had to be taken care of right away.

We're working on a system so that we can communicate with each other better. A teacher should always send me a written note saying why a child is being suspended,...why he's being sent to me. Then I can simply put on that note what disciplinary action is taken and send it back to them.

In the disciplinary cases we've had this year, no teacher has ever recommended suspension. They've always treated it with caution. They tend simply to report, "This is what the child did and I've got to get back to the classroom, and I don't think he belongs in the classroom at the moment." Then I usually spend time with the child to find out what he did and how he did it. In almost every case, I've been able to talk to the child and get the child to explain to me exactly what happened. When they don't admit it or deny it, then when I talk to the teacher and the teacher has had time during recess to confront the child, it obviously comes out just the way it happens. It may vary.

If a teacher recommends suspension, I'm going to wait a little bit until I can talk to her personally because she may have hurried in her judgment. Teachers are human, and they may not want to follow through on the punishment they first recommend. I'm particularly interested in being cautious because there's nothing that causes so much ill will between parents and the school as unnecessary disciplinary action. There certainly has to be a good reason. You don't want parents saying, "I don't understand why you sent my kid home. Does it seem logical that you should do this?"

If a student is suspended for three days and then comes back for a day, I can suspend him again for three days. Actually, I'm

> not sure whether I can suspend for longer or not....We can also expel the child from school....after so many suspensions if the problem is serious and has not improved. Expulsion generally is for the remainder of the school year, but I have never expelled anyone.

The sorting process includes determining, not only what section a student is to be assigned to in a grade but also, in a small number of cases, whether a student will be retained in a class for a second year or assigned to a special class. Decisions about such cases bring together all the parties interested in the efficacy of the educational system: teachers, parents, the principal, and the district (represented by a psychologist).

During the year three children were transferred to special education classes, and three more were scheduled for further examination in the summer before their fall placement was to be determined. At the end of the school year five Calhoun students were retained; two in kindergarten, and one each in the third, fourth, and sixth grades. A teacher can recommend retention of a pupil, but the pupil can be retained only with the consent of his parents. Larry describes his involvement in the process:

> In the beginning of the year I ask the teachers to be on the alert. If there are any children they feel are candidates to be retained, then we had better start examining the records and their work very closely, and we better start conferencing with their parents, start letting them know at the first conference that the report card shows the achievement level is not up to what the child should be doing. Parents certainly should not find out at the last minute or toward the end of the year that we intend to retain a child or hold him back.
>
> But of course sometimes a difficulty arises with respect to working with parents, because we can't get the children tested in time to begin to make predictions about the possibility of retention. We had a change in psychologists this year, and we had so many children who needed to be tested that it was a long time before he began to catch up....So there were some children who weren't tested until near the end. Sometimes a case is held over because it hasn't been gotten to in time. The school psychologist looks at the student's performance at the beginning of the next year to see whether or not the child should be retained in a particular situation or put in a special class.
>
> I feel there's probably some misunderstanding among the teachers about how I feel about retention. Some think that I

just don't believe in it. My feeling is that there are cases where a teacher simply can't succeed with a child, and it's nothing that can be blamed on either of them, really. It's just not a good fit. Under those circumstances it's sometimes natural for them to say, "Well, the child has to be retained." Before I retain a child, I want to find out the reason for the failing, and if it is because the gap is too wide but the ability is there, and the retention would do the child good, that's one thing. Just because the teacher has failed at that time with the child it doesn't mean that the child can't succeed later. I don't feel the teacher should have the last say if someone is going to be retained. They should recommend it and then I think they should go over it, examine it completely, and test wherever they can. A lot of them feel that if a child is failing, he should be retained. But testing may show that he ought to be in a special education class, or it may show that he is far enough along so that he shouldn't be retained.

When a child is at the bottom of the class, I work with the remedial reading teacher to try to bring the child up. If the child is less than two years behind in reading, for instance, and the IQ is normal, there is no reason to retain. If the child is so far behind it would be a frustrating situation to cope with the following year, then retaining the child would bring the achievement level closer to reality. This is when I would consider retention.

...We cannot retain a child without parents' consent. All we can do is...recommend this child be retained....I think if I were a parent, I would respect what the school is trying to do and understand that they're not trying to do my child harm, but trying to help the child as much as possible. But in this world, there are all kinds of people with personal reasons for the kind of decisions they make, and we have to take these things into consideration. Parents may view retention as something that would be socially unacceptable; it might cause the whole family greater heartbreak socially than we realize. If you can't convince parents that a child ought to be retained, and you force them to go ahead with it...you have nothing but problems from then on. It is better to hope that by the next year the problem will become so evident that parents will support whatever recommendation the school makes. In a sense, you kind of have to soften them up, even if it means passing the child on when you think they ought to be retained.

I've never had a case where the parent has vetoed a retention because the only times I really had to convince them didn't concern retention but concerned special placement. There's a certain amount of stigma attached to placement in special classes. I try to soften the blow or get around it by calling the special classes EMR, but the parent often says, "My child is not mentally retarded." Well, some parents are not aware, because their

> child functions normally around the house, or normally to them, that the child may be mentally retarded, unable to keep up with the normal average person of the same age and grade.

Assignment to a special education class may be initiated by a teacher's recommendation, but the final decision must be preceded by testing and screening. A battery of tests is administered by a district psychologist, but only with parental consent. If the test data confirm the teacher's recommendation (and the student's IQ is 75-80 or below), Larry forwards a recommendation to the district's special screening committee, which includes a doctor if the assignment is to be to the disabilities clinic. The screening committee's decision is final, but the action taken may be adjusted to the circumstances of the student. The last case acted on during the year involved a sixth grade girl. She was recommended for a special education class, but it was decided to let her finish the year and begin a special education class in junior high so that she could attend regular classes in physical education and homemaking.

Meetings

At School

Larry began the year by saying faculty meetings would be held only when there was business to transact. During September and early October meetings were not held every week, and when they were called it was usually no earlier than Tuesday morning. The uncertainty was irritating to teachers. In the middle of October Larry established that they would meet each week unless he announced a cancellation. Although he transacts school business with teachers at recess, noontime, and before and after school, the faculty meeting remains the regular arena for discussing school problems and developments. It is also an opportunity for the teachers to observe and react to Larry's leadership. Summaries of three meetings follow:

November 28, 1967

This meeting immediately follows the Thanksgiving holidays. There is talk of food, travel, relatives, and football games in the faculty room until Larry calls the meeting to order.

1. The Christmas Program. The first item on the agenda is the Christmas program. Nancy Leacock is in charge of the program to be put on by the primary grades. She describes what the various classes will be doing. There is uncertainty among the intermediate teachers whether their classes are to participate. Larry says it would be nice if they worked up skits, but the responsibility is with the primary grades; he adds there will be a Santa Claus on the stage after the program to distribute candy and talk to the children. Laura Engle wonders what kind of turnout there will be if intermediate children are not on the program. Larry says there will be enough involvement to insure good attendance. Tom Cole observes that if there is good attendance, the auditorium won't hold all the people. Larry shrugs and says it turned out all right last year. There is an exchange among primary teachers about the Christmas songs they are teaching. They want to avoid duplication and, Diana Atwood says jokingly, make sure they get the easiest songs to teach. Larry asks the teachers to use secular Christmas songs to avoid offending non-Christians.

2. The Noon Hour and Rainy Weather. The question of what to do on rainy days with children who bring their own lunches remains unresolved. Larry says it is impossible for them to eat outside and suggests they can come into the auditorium and sit on the floor with their bag lunches and milk. He says the alternative is to have them eat in the classrooms, which requires teacher supervision, and even if they come into the auditorium to eat, such a crowd will require one or two teachers to help out; otherwise the "lid will blow off." The discussion ends on this note; no plan of action is adopted.

3. Honor Roll. Larry explains to new teachers the basis on which students earn standing on the first or second honor roll. Three points are awarded A's, two points for B's, and one for C's. The minimum point total for the first roll is 21; for the second, 18 points.

4. Sign-in/Sign-out Routine. Larry announces that beginning the next day there will be a sign-in/sign-out sheet for teachers in the secretary's office. He tells them to sign in when they arrive in the morning and sign out in the afternoon when they leave, so that he will know when they are there. There is no response to the announcement and no further comment by the principal.

5. Progress Report on Research. I describe my work for the past month and my plans for the next two months.

6. An Interruption. Virginia Brown comes in from bus duty to report there is much confusion because the older boys are deciding to stay on and play and take a later bus. It then becomes overcrowded and the driver refuses to take any more. Some younger children are forced to take still a later bus, because the older children have pushed and crowded to the front of the line. Laura Engle points out that the faculty decided at the beginning of the year that the lines would form when the buses arrive, with kindergarten children at the front and sixth graders at the rear and that it ought to be done that way. Virginia replies that it isn't; Laura says, "Well,

it should be." Larry tells them to fill out class lists indicating the bus schedule for each student and give the lists to the secretary. He will see, he says, that the overcrowding is stopped.

7. The Faculty Christmas Party. It is decided to have the party on the Friday evening before vacation. The party is a tradition with the faculty and Larry has already volunteered his house. They begin to work out a plan of exchanging gifts and sharing food costs and preparations. Progress is slow. This appears to be the last item for discussion, but Larry has made no announcement to that effect. Finally Ellen Mayes says, "Well, what's the decision? I want to go home." The discussion continues; no one responds to her question. Martha Yeatman asks, "Can we go home now?" Alice Stoddard says, "I'm going." She does. Others stand up, the discussion falters, and in another ten minutes the room is empty.

Faculty meetings at Calhoun tend to reinforce the dubious reputation of this organizational rite. One seldom achieves a sense of development and closure within each meeting, let alone from one meeting to the next. No topic is too important or too trivial for consideration. No topic has a predetermined right to the studied attention of the faculty. A minor matter of administrative routine may consume most of a meeting, a serious pedagogical question, only fleeting consideration, or the reverse. Nevertheless, business is transacted, and there are both direct and subtle communications through which teachers nudge each other or the principal about expectations and performance.

February 5, 1968

Faculty meetings are scheduled to begin at 3:15 p.m. It is 3:25; the teachers and Larry are in the faculty room. Martha Yeatman mutters, "Let's get this thing under way." Larry calls the meeting to order.

1. Report on the Representative Assembly. Carol Weaver reports on last month's meeting. She says a question came up about the kind of reading test a pupil who is not reading at grade level should take. The superintendent's answer was that all pupils in any class were to take that grade's reading test even if some were below grade level. The superintendent was also asked whether he thought the principal should decide himself on the membership of reading groups and different sections of the same grade. Carol says his answer was definitely no--that the decision ought to be arrived at cooperatively between the principal and the teacher. Carol comments that that is the way they do it at Calhoun. A final item Carol reports on is the announcement by the superintendent that there will be no money for the purchase of scientific equipment this year but that it will be in the budget next year.

2. Parent-Teachers Club Purchases. Larry reports that the PTC president has spoken to him about wanting to make a donation again this year to the school (last year it was playground equipment). Larry says he had a list ready and told the president the club could pick whatever they wanted to but that he recommended more playground equipment. The president said the club wanted to spend the money on something else and finally decided to purchase three listening centers. One teacher asks skeptically, "Well, what's that?" Laura Engle replies forcefully that it can have many valuable uses; for example, if a group of pupils miss a day when a teacher gives a test, the teacher can put the test on tape, and the children can use the earphones at the listening center to take the test the next day while the teacher goes on with a class discussion.

3. Reading Scores. Average reading scores in the Dennison district are below the national average, and Calhoun has one of the poorest records within the district. Larry reports that the question of these scores has prompted the curriculum committee to consider how teachers ought to prepare children for the tests. He says the committee wants to be careful about its recommendations; they don't want to advise teachers to "teach to the test" but they think teachers should make sure pupils are familiar with the kinds of questions they will have to answer. "In other words," Larry says, "you don't go to the test and take out items and teach specifically for them but you certainly get the children working on similar kinds of items and give them practice so they'll have no trouble with instructions." Jean Haines says she heard that some teachers stop the tests right in the middle when they see that a lot of pupils are making errors due to the misinterpretation of instructions; they stop the clock, explain the problem and then start the clock again. Larry says that it is not supposed to be done. There is no further discussion of the low scores; Diana Atwood says the trouble is there are too many strong districts in the area, and Dennison suffers by comparison.

4. District Workshops. Larry announces two elementary workshops coming up in two weeks; he says he expects all teachers to attend, although attendance is voluntary, not mandatory. His remarks start a discussion of the devices the district uses to get teachers to attend the workshops. Karen Allbright says that often materials are handed out at these so-called voluntary workshops which all teachers end up having to use. Larry says he had such an experience. An assistant superintendent had called him to find out why all Calhoun teachers hadn't given a certain test. Larry replied he hadn't received any communication on the test, which, he said, turned out to have been distributed at a workshop.

5. Heaters for the Teacher's Room. Carol Weaver asks Larry to requisition better heaters for the faculty room; she says the room is always uncomfortable in cold weather. Everyone agrees.

6. The Remedial Reading Teacher. Larry reminds the teachers that Mrs. Ellison, the remedial reading teacher is at the school every day

to work with children having reading difficulties. He says she isn't forward and doesn't want to push herself on the teachers; she wants them to come to her.

The meeting is adjourned at 4:35.

April 30, 1968

The meeting starts ten minutes late, having been delayed by the late arrival of two teachers. Larry begins by saying, "We're a little bit late, but we'll see if we can't get finished as soon as possible."

1. Summer Head Start Program. Larry reports there will be a Head Start program in the district this summer and the pay will be $5.75 per hour as compared with $5.25 for summer school teaching.

2. United Crusade Chairman. Larry says the school needs a new chairman for this year's crusade; the last one was terrible (referring, it turns out, to himself). He asks for a volunteer; there is no response. No chairman is selected at this meeting.

3. Delegate to the Representative Assembly. A new delegate to the representative assembly has to be chosen, Larry says, but he doesn't explain why Carol Weaver can't succeed herself. Martha Yeatman asks Carol, "Why don't you take it again this year?" Carol replies, "I'm not going to be here next year." Betty Perdue asks her where she's going, and Carol tells her about returning to the school she was originally assigned to. This conversation takes place in low voices in one corner of the room while Larry continues talking about the importance of having a delegate from the school. Chris Uhlan nominates Ted Freeman and he is elected.

4. Honor Roll and Awards. Larry tells the intermediate teachers (primary grades are not considered for the honor roll) to get their nominees in as soon as possible, so that he can have certificates ordered and back before the end of school.

5. The Carnival. The school carnival will be held in two weeks. Larry asks the teachers to encourage students to sell tickets. A bicycle will be awarded to anyone selling 60 tickets; there are other prizes for those who don't sell as many. A model American flag kit will be given to every child who volunteers to sell tickets. There are groans from among the teachers; Laura Engle says it won't appeal to the students. Larry says he had other suggestions for the PTC officers, but they thought the flags would be nice.

6. Report on Research. Larry asks if I have anything to say. I tell the teachers to let me know if there are any pictures of school activities they would like me to take. Larry tells the teachers I take all kinds and describes the one I took just before the faculty meeting (Fred Dyson, the janitor, is sitting at the secretary's desk while she is getting coffee and Larry is standing beside the desk). It was an amusing scene I thought at the time, and I asked if I could take the picture. Now I am embarrassed; I think Larry is telling me I went too far.

Away from School

Larry is absent from Calhoun the equivalent of at least one full day each week; he estimates two days. Regularly scheduled meetings, errands in search of equipment for the school, and conferences with district personnel are some of the reasons for his absences.

As a principal Larry is a member of one of the district's three attendance area councils. Each council consists of all principals from schools in a particular attendance area. Monthly meetings are presided over by an assistant superintendent in charge of that attendance area, and topics such as pupil services, personnel policies, and grading criteria are discussed. Larry is also a member of the elementary curriculum council, which meets monthly under the supervision of another assistant superintendent. All elementary school principals are members of this council. Finally, there is a meeting each month of all principals in the school district, presided over by the superintendent.

Larry is also a member of the countywide physical education curriculum council and is the district's representative to that council. He gets information on curriculum policies and developments from the monthly meetings and brings it back to the district's elementary curriculum council. As a member of that committee, he is also expected to keep track of developments at the state level that will affect the physical education program in the district, evaluate the developments, and make a report to the assistant superintendent.

Larry is in charge of a volunteer bureau that was initiated in the middle of last year when a group of parents made it known to the school board that they would like someone in the district to develop a program of teacher aides. Some of them had been involved in teacher aide training at a local college, and three mothers were already working as teacher aides in nearby school districts and thought they ought to be doing the same kind of work in the Dennison district. Larry said that when the assistant superintendent originally in charge of plans for the program left to take another position, the district asked him if he would accept the responsiblity for heading the program. He thinks they may have called on him specifically to find out how well he could handle such a responsibility and thus get more information about his promise as an administrator. He likes the assignment

but finds he lacks time to work on it. One mother is helping him as a volunteer one day a week to coordinate gathering data on available teacher aides and placing them in schools.

The Summer

Like the Calhoun teachers Larry is faced with unemployment in the summer, although as an elementary principal his contract is for ten months instead of nine and his salary is $13,000 instead of the $7,500 his teachers average. His ideal source of summer income is a fellowship to a workshop or institute in an attractive location, because it provides an opportunity for travel as well as study. In the summer of 1966 he and his wife and their two young daughters spent four weeks in Hawaii while he attended a science workshop for elementary teachers and principals. In 1967 he served as vice-principal at one of the district's elementary school summer sessions. In 1968 he applied for a fellowship to a language arts institute in a nearby state, but, having learned that his acceptance was unlikely, he also applied for a teacher position in the district's summer school program and was assured of employment.

As a principal he is concerned about the attitudes of parents who enroll their children in summer school. It is his conviction that in past years Calhoun parents (usually about one-fifth of the students are enrolled) have used summer school as a chance to get the children out of the house and under someone else's supervision--even as a form of punishment. District publicity on summer school supports this judgment; the brochure states that "kids are not receptive learners when not included in family vacation plans in order to attend summer school or when attendance is used as punishment." Larry thinks this use of summer school is decreasing as its remedial function and the stigma associated with it are given less emphasis and enrichment opportunities are given more.

In applying for a teaching position in summer school, Larry might be competing with his own teachers, although in 1968 it did not work out that way since Laura Engle was the only member of the Calhoun faculty to apply, and she was accepted. The district gives priority to applications from

principals; the classroom experience is considered important. Larry taught science and math to sixth graders and said it was a welcome relief from his duties as principal.

* * *

Larry's difficulties during the first full year of his principalship are obvious. They appear to be at least partially the product of both his inexperience and his diffident manner. He is, both being and becoming a principal.[7]

The teachers are fond of Larry, and they say social relations within the faculty are very friendly. Calhoun is always compared favorably with other schools the teachers have known. They attribute this not only to the fortuitous circumstances that brought the faculty together, but also to Larry's respect for them as individuals and his unobtrusive administration of the school. They wish he were more decisive in matters in which the efficiency of their work is involved. They would like help from him on pedagogical questions, but they prize the freedom that accrues from the nature of his leadership.

Teachers, parents, and the district administration are all constituencies to which Larry must respond. He is in his apprenticeship as a cultural broker, trying to locate and employ norms and values that will afford constructive mediation among these constituencies and, in the process, enhance his own position and ultimately win the allegiance of the children as well.

In the previous chapter we examined the broader parent-community context of the teaching experience; in this chapter, the immediate school context. There are obvious differences in the "organizational distance" between teachers and parents and teachers and the principal. Parents do not assign classes, evaluate performances, manage the daily routine. The principal may and does use other administrative tactics in the name of improving teaching, but Larry Vincent's efforts--or lack of them--toward this end appear relatively ineffectual. However, even if we replaced Larry with an experienced principal having different personal characteristics,

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[7] This view of a principal is developed in Harry F. Wolcott, The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973). That study is also of an elementary school.

I believe we would not appreciably modify the reality of teacher behavior in the classroom. That reality remains a contextual isolation. The concluding chapter on the district context of the teaching experience will provide further support for this thesis.

CHAPTER IV. TEACHERS AND THE DISTRICT

Calhoun teachers encounter the district in numerous ways: the employment process, contractual duties and obligations, the intervention of specialists, the actions of teacher organizations, and school board decisions. Whether interaction is routine (a monthly paycheck) or sporadic (a curriculum workshop), the teaching experience is structured by districtwide policies and conditions in many important ways. I shall begin with the employment process and benefits. Although the statistics presented may appear to have little significance, we shall see later in the chapter that teachers, their representatives, the district administration, the school board, and, to some degree, the general public converge on issues of salary increases and related benefits. For each group the process of resolution reinforces or reshapes their perception of the teaching role.

The Employment Process and Benefits

When Larry Vincent described the difficulties he encountered working with an incompetent teacher, he alluded somewhat cynically to the district's "policy" of hiring only "good" teachers. The recruitment and employment process is directed at locating competent teachers, and like the evaluation process, it tries to accumulate data that will predict classroom performance.

In the first four years after unification (1964-1968), the continuing increase in the school population and tax revenues justified an active recruitment program that took personnel department administrators to college placement offices and large school districts in the major regions of the nation (of the Calhoun teachers who joined the faculty in 1967, however, only Alice Stoddard was recruited from out of state).

The first formal contact with a district representative begins with an interview. The interviewer is expected to rate an applicant (on a scale from superior to weak) in the following areas: knowledge of subject matter, techniques of teaching, teaching experience, teacher-pupil relations, personality, and general appearance. However, an interview yields only general impressions of the applicant's personality characteristics and ability to communicate knowledge of the teaching role. Hence, judgments on aspects of classroom behavior presumably must be based on data

from other sources. The district requests such information from the applicant's present employer or supervisor.

The individual submits an application, and if the district reacts favorably it presents a recommendation of employment to the Dennison School Board for approval. On approval, a contract is forwarded to the applicant for acceptance. The employment process is not completed until the state-required oath is administered by an authorized official. (School board members are included among those authorized.)

The starting salary for a teacher with one year or less of experience and no graduate study is $6,150 (see Table 1). Increments are based on years of experience and units of graduate study completed. The maximum possible salary for a teacher is $13,070, granted to those with thirteen years of experience and both the master's and doctor's degrees. Increments based on years of experience are automatic; requests for "horizontal movement" on the schedule must be initiated by the teacher (with proof of graduate study completed) by May 15 if the increase is to be effective in the ensuing school year.

TABLE 1

1967-1968 Teachers' Salary Schedule

YRS. EXP.	A.B. Degree plus Units of Graduate Study Completed					
	AB	AB + 15	AB + 30	AB + 45	AB + 60	AB + 75
1	6150	6620	7090	7560		
2	6485	6955	7425	7895		
3	6820	7290	7760	8230	8700	
4	7155	7625	8095	8565	9035	9505
5	7490	7060	8430	8900	9370	9840
6	7825	8295	8765	9235	9705	10175
7	8160	8630	9100	9670	10040	10510
8	8495	8965	9435	9905	10375	10845
9	8830	9300	9770	10240	10710	11180
10		9635	10105	10575	11045	11515
11			10440	10910	11380	11850
12				11245	11715	12185
13					12050	12520

Master's degree--$250 in addition to placement on the schedule. Doctor's degree--$300 in addition to placement on the schedule. Both degrees--$550 in addition to placement on the schedule.

The district offers a choice between two comprehensive medical insurance plans, monthly premiums which require a minimal contribution by the teacher. (For a subscriber the district pays $8.35; the individual pays $3.40. For a subscriber with dependents the district pays $16.40; the individual, $15.33.) In addition all employees are insured under state compensation insurance against illness or accident sustained during the performance of duties.

Under the state's teacher retirement system teachers can retire as early as fifty-five, after five years of service. Beyond sixty-five they are permitted to teach on a year-to-year basis without tenure. However, to obtain the maximum retirement income possible (50 percent of the average salary of the three highest consecutive years), the individual must have taught thirty years and reached the age of sixty. The system is not totally funded by the state; a teacher's contribution may range from 6/13 percent to 11.86 percent. Survivor benefits provide $90 a month for the wife and $90 per child under eighteen (up to $250). If there are no children, the wife receives no benefits until after age sixty-two. Disability benefits are provided after five years and are calculated by the formula: 1 1/2% x years of service x average compensation. The retirement allowance is not exempt from the state income tax and no cost-of-living adjustment is included. As of June 30, 1967, the median annual retirement allowance for all teachers in the state was $3,424.

Sick leave is granted at the rate of ten days a year, accumulated without limit from year to year. It may be transferred from one district to another within the state. It is earned at the rate of one day for each month of service, but credit for the ten days is given at the beginning of the school year and may be drawn on as needed during the year. However, a teacher who terminates his employment during the school year and has been absent because of illess of a longer period of time than he was entitled to, will have deducted from his final check enough money to cover the overpayment for sick leave. For illness extending beyond the earned sick leave, a teacher will receive his regular salary for up to five months, less the daily rate paid to his substitute.

After seven years of teaching, teachers may receive a sabbatical leave at 50 percent of salary. The leaves are granted on a competitive basis, applications are submitted to a screening committee, and not more than 1.5

percent of the tenured teaching personnel may be granted sabbaticals during the same academic year.

District Regulations

District regulations and policies pertaining to teachers are enunciated in the Teachers' Handbook, which begins with a statement of philosophy and a description of the district organization. The major portion of the handbook is the section on rules and regulations. Duties and obligations of teachers as employees are specified, and there is passing reference to norms governing their behavior as professionals. The section begins with leaves of absence. The rules include:

> Bereavement leave. Three days of personel leave with pay shall be granted each employee for death in the immediate family. One or two additional days for extenuating circumstances may be added if approved by the Superintendent. Immediate family includes mother, father, husband, wife son, daughter, brother, sister, mother-in-law, father-in-law, or any relative living in the immediate household of the employee.
>
> Maternity. Mandatory leave without pay shall be granted not less than four months prior to confinement. See complete Board policies for exceptions to this rule.
>
> Special leave.* Up to two days leave with pay may be granted each year to each full-time certificated employee who must be absent from duty because of the following reasons. (a) Family illness, quarantine, or accident necessitating his presence in his immediate household; (2) religious observances for recognized and established holy days; (3) court subpoena or request to appear as a witness or defendant. Exceptions to this policy may be requested for the Superintendent's consideration.
>
> Personal reasons.* Leave for business or personal reasons may be granted without pay at the discretion of the Superintendent. Deductions shall be at the rate paid a substitute for one day or fraction therefore.
>
> Use of sick leave. Up to six days each year may be taken for death of a member of the immediate family; accident to person or property (including members of the immediate family); or appearance in court as a litigant, or as a witness under official order. Such absence must be approved in advance and shall be charged to accumulated sick leave.

*These provisions are in addition to sick leave.

The state establishes the working year (181 days) and the working day (thirty minutes before the first class through thirty minutes after the last class--with thirty minutes off for lunch). The district does not find it difficult to specify exceptions to the working year--through the leave-of-absence policies. But questions of the teaching day and week are not as easy to administer. The handbook states:

> The teaching day. It is difficult in a profession like teaching, where duties and responsibilities vary so widely, to prescribe uniform hours for all credentialed personnel. In general, full-time teachers are on duty approximately seven hours a day. The teaching load may include other duties which require longer periods of attendance on some days.
>
> You are expected to be on duty thirty minutes before the first class commences, and at least thirty minutes after your last class is dismissed. An example of a typical work day is 8:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., including a thirty-minute lunch period.
>
> Extracurricular duties. You may be expected to give a reasonable amount of time to activities outside regular class hours. You may be called upon for assistance before and after school, during recess or the noon hour. You will be asked to attend parent meetings and open house activities at your school. Schedules for these duties will be determined by the building principal.
>
> Faculty and other meetings. Regularly scheduled faculty meetings and those called by the Superintendent are part of the teaching assignment. Attendance is professional and expected. Building faculty meetings are held on Tuesday afternoons--special faculty meetings are subject to the call of the principal.

The district necessarily defers to the principal in the implementation of these policies. We have already seen the various ways the policies are handled at Calhoun, e.g., arbitrary action by Larry, negotiated decisions with the faculty, intrafaculty pressure to conform, and the simple neglect of technical violations.

The handbook is emphatic about political activities and sectarian teaching.

> Employees shall not engage in policital activities on property of the school district, except as provided under the Civic Center Act.
>
> No one shall at any time teach denominational or sectarian doctrines in the public schools.

About "moonlighting" it is equivocal, stating, "Teaching is considered full-time employment. Other work might interfere with high district standards of instructional quality. The principal should be notified in advance of any proposed outside occupational activity."

The rules and standards governing teacher-pupil relationships are brief but range from the teacher's obligation to a pupil's physical safety to the question of pupil participation in contests.

> Care and management of pupils. Pupils shall not be ordered to remain in the classroom at recess or during the physical education period except under exceptional circumstances having to do with the child's health and welfare and with the principal's knowledge.
>
> Pupils shall not be left unsupervised within the classroom or on the playground.
>
> Pupils shall not be detained after school for a period exceeding thirty minutes without the parent's knowledge.
>
> Principals have the power to suspend pupils within the Education Code regulations. However, this must not be done without the knowledge of the Superintendent.
>
> The right to administer corporal punishment is vested in the principal and vice-principal.
>
> Classroom management. A well-planned program that keeps pupils engaged in work that is understandable, interesting, and challenging will, as a rule, prevent unwholesome activities and attitudes from forming in the classroom.
>
> Usually it is wisest for each teacher to handle his own discipline problems, but there are times when help is needed. There may be resources to which one may turn for help in handling difficult discipline cases. Assistance should be sought from the principal or vice-principal.

Contests. The instructional Division reviews all proposed contests and approves those in which students may officially compete.

Teachers are instructed concerning academic reports to parents, and they are apprised of policies directed at preventing legal action by parents and at restraining teachers from the misuse of their position.

Reporting to parents. Reports to parents, either written or in conference, should serve to bring the school and home closer together. All marks or statements made are important and should be carefully and thoughtfully given. Records of pupils achievement should be kept, and evidence should be accumulated to substantiate periodic gradings. To eliminate wide variations in marking, district standards of achievement should be observed.

Study trips--permission required. Written permission from parents must be received before pupils may be permitted to take study trips sponsored by the school district, regardless of what transportation is used. It is necessary to obtain separate written permission from parents for each trip taken.

Selling to parents. It is considered unethical for teachers to sell books, supplies, or other materials to parents of their pupils or to parents residing in the attendance areas served by their school. No employee should use his position as a means of gaining entrance to homes for the purpose of influencing prospective or potential buyers of any product or service.

Solicitation of funds. Solicitation of funds from school children for purposes other than school activities is prohibited unless specifically authorized by action of the Board of Education. If approved, contributions or collections shall be kept anonymous, and no competitive program shall be established in order to increase the amounts collected.

Tutoring. You should not accept offers to tutor for pay children residing in the attendance area of your school assignment. Exceptions may be granted if requests are submitted, in writing, to the Superintendent.

The handbook ends with a statement of grievance procedures available to teachers.

Grievances. In the event a teacher feels he has received unjust treatment, he should proceed along the following steps:

1. First discuss the problem with your immediate supervisor, usually the principal.

2. If a satisfactory solution is not forthcoming from this conference, an appointment should be set with the Assistant Superintendent.

3. If this conference does not successfully settle the problem, an interview should be set with the Superintendent. This conference will normally include all parties involved in the problem or controversy.

4. If in the teacher's estimation the Superintendent's solution does not result in understanding and justice for him, the Superintendent will arrange for a conference meeting with the Board of Education to discuss the problem. This is an informal meeting held in private. At such a conference all parties to the controversy are present, and each is allowed to give testimony and rebuttal testimony. The meeting is held under the chairmanship of the President of the Board of Education.

5. In the event the problem is considered a matter of professional ethics, it may be investigated by the Teacher's Association Professional Ethics Committee upon the request of either the injured party, the Superintendent, or Employee Services.

Orientation

In the Dennison district the opening day of school is preceded by a four-day orientation program. During the first two days only teachers new to the district are required to participate. The first day is an introduction to groups and individual who have varying interests in their behavior as teachers.

On a Tuesday morning in early September, the new Calhoun teachers reported to one of the district junior high schools. The Dennison Teachers Association (DTA) served breakfast and was in charge of the program for the first half of the morning session. The district superintendent had said the arrangement represented a gesture of support by the district for the association and an effort to maintain good relations. The cafeteria was crowded; 235 new teachers had been employed (out of a total teaching staff of 1,157).

At 9:15 David Mendez, the vice-president of the DTA and a young high school science teacher, called the meeting to order; he welcomed the new teachers and introduced Marion Karsner, the DTA president and for ten years

a junior high mathematics teacher in the district. She talked for five minutes, mainly about the need for teachers to develop a professional attitude toward teaching. She was followed by Lewis Madsen, full-time executive secretary of the Jefferson County Teachers' Association (membership, 10,000). He discussed professionalism among teachers, described the activities of the association, and emphasized the association's role in protecting teachers. He mentioned a school board in a nearby district that was reported to have informed teachers they would be fired if they did not teach "properly." Madsen said he did not know what the board had in mind, but he assured the new teachers his office would protect them from unprofessional treatment. He was followed on the program by the district superintendent and the chairman of the Dennison School Board, both of whom gave brief welcoming remarks, and by Mark Petrey, the full-time executive secretary of the DTA. Petrey invited the teachers to visit the DTA office and find out "what is going on there."

Petrey's remarks completed the DTA part of the program. The district personnel officer, John O'Brien, explained the procedure for checking teaching credentials and offered to help those teachers experiencing difficulty in locating housing. When O'Brien finished, Marion Karsner returned to the microphone and introduced me, the final "item" on the agenda.[1]

At 11:30 a.m. the teachers went to a city park for a barbecue sponsored by the Dennison Chamber of Commerce. The chamber provided the chicken; the principals did the cooking. At each place setting was a plastic bag with a city map, copies of Chamber of Commerce publications, a volume of Paperbacks for High School Children, and a bar of soap. The barbecue ended after welcoming remarks by city and Chamber of Commerce officials. At 2:15 the Calhoun teachers returned to the school to begin organizing their classrooms.

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[1]Reference was made in Chapter I to the study of the professional socialization of teachers. At this session I described the project, and distributed the questionnaire. I hesitate to say the questionnaire was an anticlimax, but it certainly didn't "save the day." In any case, I was reminded that one often has to stand in line to do research in schools.

On Wednesday morning they attended workships organized for each grade. The one report I obtained was from Betty Perdue; she said the session for first grade teachers was outstanding and described it as follows:

> The teacher was extremely well organized and had a careful file of welcome materials to use with first grades. She spent most of the three hours talking from carefully prepared notes without repeating herself, about all the things that ought to go on in the first grade, especially the first day. She went into detail as to the kind of files teachers might keep, how we might address the children, what we might do each day for the first week and various other things. In all my nine years of teaching I never encountered a teacher so well prepared and so versatile as she was.

At the close of this workshop the teacher distributed a list of required time allotments for first grade subjects, a suggested daily program, a list of criteria to determine first grade readiness, and the following statement on room environment:

> What can a teacher do to create a pleasing and challenging classroom?
>
> The physical arrangement of the classroom is an important aspect of the teaching and learning experiences. A pleasant atmosphere is the result of thoughtful planning and organizing of work and display areas. Here is where you and a group of children will spend many hours and many weeks. Make it a place you and they can be proud to say, "This is our room!"
>
> 1. Have interest centers around the room. New Lessons to Learn - New Songs to Sing - New Books to Read - New Games to Play - New Friends to Meet - This Way to Storyland for the Library Corner - Look Around Outdoors for the Science Corner.
>
> 2. Don't display too much at one time. Change more often in order to accommodate many children's work.
>
> 3. Don't put papers up with one pin. You almost can't get a paper to hand level, and if you do, it is soon askew.
>
> 4. Generally, don't hand things above the eye level of the children. Don't think you have to cover all the space. White space attracts the eye to what is showing.
>
> 5. Use dividers--string, paper strips, rolled paper, paper loops, etc.

6. Try to maintain a color scheme. Yellow, orange, and brown in the fall; red, green, and white in the winter; pink, blue, and lavender in the spring.

7. Put 3D to work in your display--paper sculpture, seeds leaves, shells, etc.

8. Use texture--burlap, mesh, net, corrugated paper, etc.

9. Plan your spaces with the class or a committee of children. This can be profitable learning experience as they become aware of what goes into an attractive display--color, texture lettering and caption, arrangement and mounting.

10. Make a set of frames to feature children's art work and change the picture in the frame or mat. Use corrugated paper, brown wrapping paper with the edges burned, pinking-sheared paper, colored paper woven into latticed corners, and free form.

11. Pin a string where you want the letters to go in order to keep a straight line. Fasten a little pin cushion to elastic tape and slide onto your wrist. This keeps the pins handy, leaves both hands free, and you're not tempted to risk clambering about with a mouthful of pins. If the wall surface is hard, try using a thimble to save your fingers.

12. Lay the letters, properly spaced, on a table and measure so you can judge the area needed for good margins.

Capitalize on the normal interest and curiosity of children. Let suggestions and displays arouse imagination. The time it takes is well spent and insures an interesting and inviting classroom.

The prospect of a teacher strangling on a mouthful of pins is, to be sure, disturbing. But such specificity leaves little to the intelligence, let alone the imagination. Surveying the material funneled to teachers leaves one awed at the unbelievable leaps they must make between the lofty and the condescending.

In the afternoon teachers were to report to their school for an orientation session with the principal, but Calhoun teachers had the afternoon off, because Larry was having a hectic day. Two new portable classrooms had been moved in, and he had to track down furniture and storage cabinets that had not been delivered. So he canceled the meeting, and the teachers set about moving materials and putting up displays.

Thursday morning workshops were organized by grade level and subject area. I attended one on reading for first grade teachers. It began at 9:00 a.m. with a talk by a publishing company sales agent about a new speller that had been adopted by the state and was going to be used in the district. He said it was the first consumable speller available for the first grade. (The exercises can be torn out and handed in to the teacher.) As he talked about the use of the speller, he responded to teachers' questions. He assured them the word list was appropriate to the first grade although some children would probably have difficulty--perhaps owing to hearing problems, which he said Negroes were more likely to have because of their thick ears, or to emotional problems, if say, the father were not at home. He understood there were few minority groups in Dennison, so presumably children in the district would do better on spelling. He maintained that errors in the speller were not the fault of the publisher, since the state department of education had purchased the plates and printed the book.

A teacher asked if the speller was meant to be used for the entire year. The agent said a good student could complete the speller in a semester and begin to use the second grade edition, but that that would create problems by the time the child reached the sixth grade. There were questions about the teacher's edition. He assured them it was very helpful and would cut preparation time from forty-five to fifteen minutes. There were questions about posture (feet flat on the floor and the paper in the right position), about the author and the money he made (close to a million dollars on all publications). He ended by distributing pamphlets on reading and spelling, assuring the teachers he had enough copies for everyone, since he knew what pack rats they were.

He finished at 9:35. While waiting for the next speaker, the teacher in charge of the workshop read a short statement titled, "What is a First Grade Class?" The audience listened quietly to what was a sentimental but appealing description of first graders. At 9:40 one of the district's experienced art teachers came to demonstrate an art project. (The subject of the workshop was listed in the schedule as reading, but turned out to be more comprehensive.) Materials for the demonstration were tree leaves,

blank paper, and crayons. The art teacher began by asking for "helpers" to hand out the materials. In a few minutes everyone was busy with crayons, watching the outline of the leaf (placed beneath the paper) emerge on the paper as they colored.

At 9:55 a science teacher demonstrated how homemade paraphernalia, kitchen utensils, and the like could be used in developing a science program for first graders. She began by saying she envied those who would be teaching this year; she said she wouldn't, because "I have a date with the stork." She talked about the new science textbooks available for the primary grades and the basic concepts of science first grade teachers might teach. Then she proceeded through an explanation of the possible use of two large cartons of assorted objects she had collected.

Science was followed by a half hour talk by the district's director of reading about the two reading series to be used. He discussed the basis for his judgment that one series was better for slow and medium readers, and the other for fast readers, and he talked about the use teachers could make of the diagnostic tests the publishers provided.

Fifteen minutes with the district's music coordinator completed the workshop. The group learned three songs in a manner the music teacher hoped they would find easy to use with first graders.

On Friday morning there was a work session at the school, and in the afternoon, the first faculty meetings.

During orientation the teachers new to Calhoun had been "instructed" by the teachers' association, the district administration, the school board, the Chamber of Commerce, a publisher, the principal, experienced colleagues, and curriculum specialists. One can expect such diversity and fragmentation in an orientation program. However the next section shows that district provisions for more systematic "instruction" are characterized by fundamental problems of role conflict and unrealistic expectations.

Teachers and Specialists

The district staff includes curriculum coordinators (in 1967-68, there were two, specifically oriented toward the elementary school curriculum in reading and in science), who are available to teachers and faculties for guidance in working with new materials and trying out different teaching techniques. Workshops are a device through which a coordinator initiates consultation. At least two are organized during the school year for elementary teachers. The format varies; the coordinator may direct the workshop, invite a particularly competent teacher in the district to direct it, or make use of specialists from outside the district, such as professors of education or publishing company consultants. A workshop may be open to the entire district or limited to teachers from one of the attendance areas. It may be held during the school day, in which case attendance is compulsory near the end of the day (teachers are excused the last hour after having taught a "minimum" day), or after school. The question of attendance at a workshop after school provokes speculation. Calhoun teachers view it as voluntary but assert that the district deliberately avoids making the distinction and uses subterfuge to "encourage" attendance (see p. 117).

The majority of Calhoun teachers favor workshops staffed by district teachers demonstrating new materials and techniques to use in their classrooms. They find least useful the workshops staffed by publishing company consultants. Calhoun teachers who have been in the district at least two years enthusiastically describe a program of curriculum consultation that the district initiated but was able to fund for only one year. Under the program a small number of competent, innovative, and cooperative teachers in the district were designated Helping Teachers, given leave from their teaching duties, and directed to work in a consulting-advising capacity with teachers. Calhoun teachers liked their work and also liked the arrangement because they viewed these consultants as colleagues rather than members of the district staff and did not have to be concerned with the prospect that consultation might also include evaluation.

The district also employs specialists who respond to the needs of individual students. Such specialists are the school nurse, the psychologist, the speech therapist, and the remedial reading teacher. Although they may interact with teachers in ways that ultimately affect the teacher's performance, their primary role is a supplementary one. They are to minister to student problems that teachers are unprepared or too busy to treat. In the ideological language of public education, their goal is "individualized attention," a goal that teachers are also expected to pursue, but with a class of thirty pupils rather than one at a time.

Reading Specialist

Matty Ellison, the reading specialist at Calhoun, is one of twelve specialists in the district whose salaries are funded largely by the state through legislation aimed at reducing reading problems. Calhoun is assigned a full-time reading specialist because of the high percentage of children (64.6 in the first grade, 60.5 in the second grade, 39.0 in the third grade) who scored in the lowest quartile of the Stanford Achievement test the previous year. Approximately 10 percent of these pupils are of Mexican-American descent with varying degrees of language problems.

According to Art Collins, the district coordinator of reading, the reading specialist is viewed as a master teacher with special competence in remedial reading, and the job includes helping with all aspects of teaching, not just reading problems. Matty's primary obligation was to attend to the reading problems of pupils in the lowest quartile. She was advised not to "push her way into the classroom" but rather to wait for an invitation from teachers to demonstrate different ways of teaching reading and related subjects. During the first semester she worked exclusively with pupils, individually and in small groups. The "waiting" strategy produced no invitations. This experience was sufficiently common among the reading specialists in all the schools that Collins urged principals to make sure the specialists got into the classroom at least once during the second semester. Larry scheduled visits to all the classrooms and made clear that each visit was to include a demonstration, preferably one requested by the teacher. Ellen Mayes asked Matty to

demonstrate a spelling lesson, because she said spelling seemed to be so boring for the children. Matty demonstrated a spelling lesson but never learned if Ellen found the lesson useful or if it changed her spelling procedures in any way. The other demonstrations did not, Matty says, affect a change in her relationship to the teachers. It was never determined whether the explanation lay in the quality of the demonstration, the teacher's indifference or inability to apply the technique, or the absence of open and continuing communication between Matty and the teachers. Of her relationship to teachers, Matty says,

> Teachers tend to be threatened by a specialist such as myself. They feel intimidated if we come in and demonstrate a way of doing something better than they have been doing it. I think it would be good to work with them individually. That's almost impossible during the day. I'd like to talk to them after school, but I hesitate to ask because they usually have plans to leave as soon as school is out. I find it all rather discouraging. I think we're specialists but don't have the necessary authority. We ought to be able to go into the classroom rather freely and work with teachers without waiting to be asked. Then, too, when I work with an individual child and send him back into the classroom with a diagnosis and recommendation a teacher may not adjust reading materials to his level.

Calhoun teachers, particularly those in the primary grades with whom Matty Ellison works most closely, view her work as competent, based on the performance of pupils she returns to their classes and in the materials and techniques she passes on to them. Diana Atwood's assessment is typical:

> Matty gives us ideas about how to teach reading differently and prepares materials we can use. She came into my classroom toward the end of the year and demonstrated how to use a balance board in working with perception problems and how to work with children on phonics games. I found it really helpful, especially because it was the first time I could sit in the back of the room and watch someone else work with my class. I don't know how it happened she came into the class so late in the year--maybe Larry talked to her. She volunteered early in the year to come in but it was all very vague and I never knew what to do with her. I wish now she had come in sooner.

Matty qualified as a reading specialist after five years experience as an elementary teacher. The position meant a salary increase of $250 a year and an allowance of $250 in scholarship funds for graduate study

in reading. Three Calhoun teachers took the reading specialist exam during the year; two passed, and one of them located a position as a reading specialist in another district elementary school the next year.

Psychologist

Calhoun is one of seven elementary schools for which Arthur Daniels, a school psychologist, is responsible; therefore, he draws his cases from a student population of well over three thousand. During a two-week period he spends one day at each school. Calhoun teachers and Daniels agree that he is far behind in his work.

Within the required procedures for school psychologists established by state law, the Dennison district offers him wide lattitude concerning his mode of operation at individual schools. Therefore, he says his methods depend on the type of pupil population at a school, the principal's habit of intervening in the work of a psychologist, and the teachers' perception of his usefulness to their work. He feels Calhoun is located in a relatively low socioeconomic area and therefore has a large percentage of slow learners. This is substantiated, he points out, by comparing their achievement scores with those of other district schools. Much of his time at Calhoun is spent "attempting to qualify students in mentally retarded classrooms, an unfortunate and uncomfortable fact, but nevertheless a fact." He also has to spend time proving to teachers that some children are not slow learners and should not be assigned to special classes.

Problems that teachers refer to the principal for the attention of the psychologist may be screened, in the sense that a principal may have a particular point of view with respect to the diagnosis and treatment of problems and may tend to pass along certain kinds of referrals. Larry is not so inclined, and Daniels reports that he spends almost as much time with Larry as with the Calhoun teachers, reacting to teacher referrals for Larry's action and talking about the data he is accumulating on cases already under way. Daniels also confers with other specialists who may have data on a child. At Calhoun he tries to see Matty Ellison at each visit, the speech therapist less frequently, and the nurse as little as possible. "She has her own problems," he says. He characterizes his relationship to Calhoun teachers this way:

> The biggest problem they presented this past year was the number of inappropriate referrals they made. This may be due in part to their insufficient knowledge about the role of a psychologist, in part to the fact that they are either lazy and don't want to deal with a problem or frustrated and don't want to think it through and work it out before calling me in. The matter of inappropriate referrals varies considerably among teachers and I can't really say that Calhoun teachers make more than those at other schools. But I'm confident many of the problems teachers refer are not so specialized and complicated that the teachers can't work them out with a child if they chose to take the time and have the interest.

Daniels reports that because of the large number of cases he has at Calhoun only about 50 percent of all the children who are eventually classified as mentally retarded are actually put into special classes.

Whether or not Daniels' judgment about the number of inappropriate referrals is accurate, it is certain he received fewer referrals than might have been the case had he been able to keep up with his load. Teachers report that action on referrals made early in the year was so slow that they began to feel there was little sense in initiating more referrals except in desperation. Their perception of Daniels' mode of operation and general demeanor also constrained them. They felt he was too concerned with testing, to the exclusion of "working with children," and they found him cold and impersonal.

Speech Therapist

Aileen Kendall, a speech therapist, spends the equivalent of one full day each week at Calhoun, one of four schools for which she is responsible. With transfers into the school, teacher referrals, and cases left over from the previous year, Aileen says she screens almost two-thirds of the school. She calls in about five children at a time, lines them up along a wall and speaks to them one at a time. She says she could just as easily have them sit down at a table, but it is easier the other way to control their behavior. She has each one tell about his family, count, name certain colors, talk about the kinds of games he likes. By hearing this "running" conversation she can locate speech problems of various types. With the screening data she makes up a list of pupils who should be in therapy classes and proceeds to work out a schedule with the teachers involved.

State law sets a maximum case load of ninety for a school speech therapist; if a pupil is scheduled for more than one session a week, the load is reduced. Aileen meets with approximately forty-five children each week, almost half of whom (twenty) are at Calhoun. State law also sets a maximum of six in each therapy group formed. Aileen limits each group to four. Of the Calhoun pupils she started with at the beginning of the year, five made enough improvement by Easter to leave the groups. Four new ones were added. She has almost fifty on the waiting list.

Calhoun teachers are easy to work with she says. It is the teacher's prerogative to resolve schedule conflicts in whatever way she thinks is best for the child. Her views on teaching and her own specialization have changed since she started working in schools.

> When I started out I thought I was more of a specialist than a teacher; I thought I knew more. But I have come to feel that teachers have to be specialized in such things as techniques of reading and writing. I guess I think of myself as a specialist in one aspect of deviant behavior, and of a teacher as a specialist in children's general behavior. We're just trained to do different jobs. That's true of a school psychologist too--although he acts as if he is more important, and probably gets a higher salary, although I don't see why. He doesn't always consult people when he should. The one thing I regret most about this year is an incident involving a girl in one of my groups. She suddenly was absent from several sessions, and when I asked about her, I was told she had been transferred to an educational mentally retarded class. I had a lot of information and data on the girl that could have been helpful in making such a decision. I know the psychologist didn't have all the information he could have.

Calhoun teachers think well of Aileen's work. They report that most of the children they have referred to Aileen have made noticeable progress in eliminating speech problems.

School Nurse

Donna Graham's assignment as a school nurse includes six elementary schools, one junior high school, and one class of educable mentally retarded students. The time she spends at each school depends on enrollment She spends a half day each week at Calhoun. She makes at least two home visits a week, and sets aside a half day for office work. Since

her "office" is the nurse's station at another elementary school, much of that half day is given over to nursing duties.

She is responsible for visual and hearing screening of selected grades at the beginning of the school year. This year she screened the first and fourth grades for hearing and the first, third, and fifth grades for vision. In addition, she screens all referrals. She serves as a consultant to teachers on first aid and health and is automatically a member of any screening committee set up to pass judgment on whether a child should be assigned to a special school or class.

A major complaint she has with Calhoun teachers is that they don't use her properly.

> They don't know enough about what a registered nurse can do and should do, and what she is trained for. Then, too, they expect too much. They are constantly asking, "Why haven't you tested a referral I made some time ago?" They don't know the work load I have.
>
> Sometimes there is conflict over whether or not a referral should be made. When one comes in, I talk with the teacher first to see if she understands all the implications of whatever statement she makes concerning the reasons for the referral. Sometimes teachers make referrals they can handle themselves. Most referrals are health problems. It may be a case of lice, impetigo, or constant sleepiness. It may be something unusual. This past year a Calhoun teacher reported she thought a girl was masturbating in class rather regularly. She didn't know what to do about it except to report it to me. I took the information to the parents and told them that, while there was no absolute proof, the teacher was quite convinced that this sort of thing was going on. The parents denied that it was going on, but later in the discussion they admitted that their older child had had a similar problem earlier in school.
>
> This is an example of how teachers use me when they are afraid to talk to parents themselves about a delicate matter. That's part of my job, but I think teachers could make more home visits themselves. Some nurses put down teachers who move into their area, but I'd be happy for them to do it.

Donna maintains that, unlike the teachers, she is a specialist, and that her training was more demanding; but Calhoun teachers do not view her work with respect. They consider her inept in handling children, and since she is at the school only a half day each week, they are accustomed

to handling emergencies without her help. (For most of the week the secretary, Helen Roberts, acts as nurse, at least for minor first aid treatment.) The teachers' feeling about Donna were intensified at the end of the year when they began completing the file on each child. They claimed her records were skimpy and inefficient, which caused them extra work at the last minute.

Music Specialist

One other specialist visits the school each week. A formal music program at Calhoun is under the direction of Ray Barker, an instrumental and vocal music teacher assigned to the junior high that Calhoun feeds into. He is responsible for all five elementary schools that serve as feeders. He visits Calhoun one day each week. Be begins each year with a seven-week training session on the tonette for pupils in grades four through six and moves into instrumental instruction with those who exhibit talent and interest. He has no time at Calhoun for choral work. Teachers welcome the music program but find that with the beginning of instrumental instruction at the end of the seven-week period they have to adjust their instruction procedures. As Laura Engle says, "On Monday I have to see that nothing particularly new or important is introduced so that those in music instruction will not miss it."

* * *

The mutual dissatisfaction that characterizes some aspects of the teacher-specialist relationship may be caused in varying degrees by personality quirks, misperceptions of role obligations, differences of opinion about role prestige and appropriate compensation, and difficulties in reconciling conflicting role demands. Laura Engle's point of view about specialists is representative of the faculty's:

> None of these people is any more of a specialist than I am. We can't do their jobs and they can't do ours. It's just that they are specialists in a very narrow area, and we're specialists in a general area. Probably their job is easier, because they can concentrate on a rather narrow speciality, whereas elementary school teachers have to be acquainted with different areas and activities, and the problem is they certainly can't be equally interested in all of them.

We may view the teacher-specialist relationship as a mildly aberrant version of a cooperative venture among unequals, but perhaps we can more realistically appraise the teaching experience if we view the relationship as one of internecine role coercion and exploitation.

Research on organizational structure and on role and staff conflict has been notably inattentive to specialists--presumably because such individuals rarely work full time at one school and therefore are less visible and harder to locate on an organization chart. Such inattention may also be explained by our tendency to oversimplify educational phenomena; in this case, to think about the population of schools as including only teachers, pupils, administrators, and parents. The role of the specialist provides an important clue to teachers' notions about the nature and allocation of functional resources and the assignment and validation of evaluation procedures.

Teachers and Representation

There are three organizations in which Calhoun teachers and other teachers throughout the district can air their particular concerns: the Representative Assembly, the Dennison Unified District Teachers' Association (a local affiliate of the state teachers' association), and the Dennison Federation of Teachers (a local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers).

The Representative Assembly

The Representative Assembly was instituted by the district superintendent to provide a forum for a direct exchange between himself and teachers. Representation is proportional: one teacher from each elementary school, two from each junior high school, and three from each senior high school. At the first meeting the assembly voted to exclude representatives of the local press but approved attendance by the district director of personnel. Superintendent Baker recommended the latter, because he felt that a number of questions would require information from the personnel office. It was also decided that although the press was to be excluded, the minutes of the meeting would be made public and copies would be

distributed to every certificated staff member in the district. No teacher was to be identified by name, however, either during the meeting or in the minutes.

The assembly meets of the first Monday of each month from 3:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. in the auditorium of a junior high school. The minutes of the meetings reflect the concerns of teachers. Since their inquiries and comments are directed at the superintendent, questions of administrative policy and procedure rather than pedagogy are usually involved. An analysis of the minutes of the nine meetings of 1967-68 indicates the following percentage distribution by major topic:

Job conditions: salary increases, tenure, transfers, evaluation, selection, class schedules etc.	56%
Curriculum and instruction: reading tests, combined classes, kindergarten program, new courses, suspension, etc.	33%
Parents and the school: retention decisions, complaints about teachers, etc.	3%
Resources: supplies and equipment, state aid for programs, etc.	3%
Other: ethnic survey, traffic patrol, etc.	5%

Selections from the minutes follow. Usually at least one question related to teacher evaluation comes up, as in the November meeting (November 6, 1967).

Member: Is there a time limit for classroom observations?

Dr. Baker: No, however, I have heard some complaints of quick pop-in-and pop-out visits. Is that what you are talking about?

Member: No, this is lengthy, one or two hours. Teachers feel this is too long.

Dr. Baker: Apparently we have both types?

An inquiry may be carried over from one meeting to the next, particularly if the issue is sensitive and the superintendent is not present to respond. Two assistant superintendents were substituting for Baker at the December meeting (December 4, 1967) when the issue of parental pressure and Board intervention in a disciplinary case arose.

Member: Last week a unilateral decision was made by a board meeting and an individual of the administration with the result that it undercut the principal, the principal's authority, the teacher's authority and I would say that it opened up our school procedures to pressure groups. What is being done to prevent unilateral decisions of this nature? I refer to what happened at our school last week, Madison High School. We recently had students suspended because of violating their attendance in class, complicity, and an act of forgery on the part of a student working in the office. These students were suspended on the basis of their complicity. Some were given five days and some were given ten days. One boy wanted the punishment to be working after school rather than suspension.

The principal and others involved thought it would be grossly unfair to allow this boy this opportunity unless it was also allowed the rest of the students. The original penalty was not so great that he couldn't take it, they thought. Most of the parents agreed as well as the students. The father, however, when he heard this message, said that he would take it to the top. Now we were not consulted on this, as our administrators feel that it was an administrator's problem, but we feel that it is a faculty problem as well. While we differ with the administration on many issues, our administrators handle discipline problems very well and to be undercut at this level from the upper echelon is very dangerous for morale.

This man apparently went to one of the board members, who called someone in on the agenda for the next week. In the meantime, the kids are allowed to stay in school, pending the board's decision and whether or not the principals have a right to suspend. This seems the basic question, the district policy, as we believe the principals have the power to suspend, and, in this matter, the parents should have been told by the board member or by someone that his request was in opposition with the district policy and that in this interim period the suspension should go into effect. Now does the board have to act on suspensions or just expulsions?

Dr. Pitts: Normally, just expulsions, but evidently the parent in this case is appealing the suspension so we go to the board.

Member: We are not criticizing the right to appeal but the fact that these students were allowed to come back to school did undermine the authority of the teachers and the principal.

When the January meeting convened (January 8, 1968), the teachers wanted Baker to speak on the issue. The intervening Christmas vacation had not dislodged their concern. Furthermore, they saw no reason to accept a substitute's explanation, the purpose of the assembly being to circumvent the administrative staff and create an exchange between teachers and superintendent.

Member: I was wondering about the recent situation that occurred at Madison High School regarding the suspension of students. Would you repeat your comments about this matter?

Dr. Baker: Yes, I will be glad to. I am sorry I was not at the last meeting. A parent whose son was involved with a group of other students in breaking school rules questioned our suspension procedure. He insisted that his son be allowed to return to classes and indicated he felt that other measures should be attempted before a student was suspended. He wanted to appeal the suspension, have the matter thoroughly investigated, and then if he lost the case, have the boys serve the sentence. Because of the parent's insistence of the nature of his criticism, the principal and assistant superintendent felt the request for an appeal should be granted. Their experience with this parent in the past and the reasons for this recommendation of appeal made it appear necessary for the matter to be taken to the board. The board, however, was very upset that it had not been handled at the school level rather than tie up hours of administrative time as well as lengthy sessions with the board.

Member: I can't imagine my principal being involved in this kind of decision.

Dr. Baker: I think in this particular case--he felt this was the only alternative in order to satisfy the parent's objections and hopefully have him understand why our methods of suspension are as they are.

Member: When this occurred at Madison High, were there other schools informed that their parents could appeal the case of suspension with their children?

Dr. Baker: No, because this one request did not indicate a change in policy throughout the district. This was one request from one school and was being handled as an individual matter.

Member: Then this did not set a precedent?

Dr. Baker: No, we received very strong instructions from the board to the effect that this type of decision was to be handled at the school level.

Member: What would you suggest that a parent do who is unable to get a better settlement with a principal?

Member: The question is not whether a parent has the right to go beyond the principal with it but whether a parent can insist that his child can return to class after he has in fact been suspended.

The April meeting (April 1, 1968) returns to the question of parental intervention. This time the issue is not unjustified interference in established procedures but the vulnerability of teachers to direct aggressive action.

Member: If a parent complains about a teacher, can the complaint be used against the teacher without its being in written form?

Dr. Baker: Parent complaints are usually brought to the principal. The district policy states that if a parent wants to file a complaint it must be written and the proper procedure followed. A verbal complaint is not enough, although I suppose it could be viewed as a criticism against the teacher. But a formal complaint proposing dismissal would necessitate written documentation to carry any weight.

Member: Shouldn't the complaining parent be identified?

Dr. Baker: Yes, indirect criticisms are not too meaningful and sometimes disappear when an attempt is made to locate the source.

Member: Is the teacher informed of the complaint when it is received?

Dr. Baker: I can't answer that. However, I would expect the principal to tell the teacher about a complaint. My instruction to principals is that teachers want to know and be involved in replying to complaints in resolving the problem. I hope that that is what is happening.

Member: Is there any administrative obligation to call a parent who is known to be the source of ugly rumors about a particular teacher, or do you have to let this type of complaint run rampant and hope it will not get out of hand?

Dr. Baker: I can only tell you what I do under such circumstances. My viewpoint is that the issue is never surfaced until you get all the persons involved and talk about what

the specific matter is. Perhaps it would be best to review the section of the district policy on Procedure for Handling Criticism of Teaching Staff. [He reads from the District Operations Manual.]

Criteria

1. All complaints must be presented in writing and must include specific information.
2. The statement must be signed and an identification given to remit proper reply.

Steps to be followed

1. All written complaints will be filed with the building principal. The building principal will review the criticism and will establish a committee to review the case if he deems it necessary.
2. Should a decision satisfactory to all be reached at the building level, a written report of this will be sent by the principal to the superintendent and to those concerned.
3. If the problem concerns additional study, the principal may refer the case to the district personnel office.
4. The Board of Education will then appoint a committee to investigate and make recommendation of disposition of the case. The committee will be comprised of the following: (a) One member from the District, (b) One school principal, (c) One teacher (d) One layman.
5. This committee will present writing reviews and recommendations for file disposition.

Member: To follow this procedure exactly, it would be possible for a written complaint to end up in a teacher's file without the teacher knowing about it.

Dr. Baker: Following this procedure, literally, I suppose that is possible. However, good personnel practices and our instructions to principals are that principal and or the committee should make the teacher aware of the comments that are going into his file. Sometimes a principal may note on the written complaint "without substance" or some similar comment before it goes into the teacher's file to indicate his feelings or his solution to the problem and in some instances they are resolved and therefore are not filed.

Member: What is the procedure in handling complaints about administrators?

Dr. Baker: Same section of the district would apply.

Member: What is the district policy on the so-called negative file? Recently a teacher was criticized about a matter in which he admitted error and this was placed in his file. This same person, however, had done some remarkable things for the district in setting up curriculum and so on. None of this was noted. Do you approve of this method of not having balanced comments?

Dr. Baker: Good remarks are wanted. Principals are being encouraged to do this more and more.

Member: I suggest a parallel file.

Calhoun's representative to the assembly is Carol Weaver. At the first faculty meeting following the monthly meeting of the assembly, she regularly reports to the faculty on the major topics discussed. Usually her reports are accepted without comment. In several instances, however, the report she makes precipitates a heated discussion and brings from Larry a definitive statement on his own procedure or point of view. Her report on the assembly discussion of teacher evaluation procedures and the possibility that some principals keep secret files on teachers is one such instance. Larry said that the kind of evaluating he does does not include "sneaking up on them" or keeping a secret file.

The Dennison Unified District Teachers' Association

The goal of the Dennison Unified District Teachers' Association (DUDTA) is to be "the collective voice in the district for teachers." The work of the association is carried on by Mark Petrey, the full-time executive secretary, and a small group of teachers (elected officers and committee members). This leadership tries through meetings and questionnaires to find out what activities the membership wishes the association to undertake, but their own concerns greatly influence the implementation of the teachers' wishes.

The association participates in and initiates studies of educational programs within the district, the most recent being a study of the junior high school program and an analysis of state legislation stipulating changes in curriculum requirements. It also maintains a steady flow of communiques such as pleas for membership participation on association committees, minutes of executive council meetings, releases about teachers'

salaries and the cost of living, summaries of developments in national organizations, and highlights of board meetings.

Throughout much of the year the association's executive secretary is the collective voice of the teachers when they choose to intervene in an educational matter. Mark Petrey says his primary responsibility is to offer leadership to the teachers of the district; he describes his two major functions as being a "fall guy" for the teachers and protecting them on matters of personnel policies. He represents them in confrontations with the school board, the central staff, and the press. When, for example, the association leadership believes that the question of salary increases for teachers is muddied by the apparent effort of the central administration to "conceal" surplus monies, Petrey goes to the board with the accusation.

The protection of teachers on matters of personnel policies usually involves Petrey in arguing for a change in an administrative decision or in forestalling one that is pending. He describes examples of his intervention:

> Last spring ten women applied for maternal leave and all the requests were turned down. The director of personnel said they would have to resign. I immediately moved into it because school board policy clearly states that maternal leave is to be approved. I told the director that was policy and that the teachers would be there to teach next fall even if they were going to have a baby the next year. Well, they were granted the leave. Maybe he made that original ruling because he's new in the district.
>
> Another example concerns how many insurance carriers the board decides the district should have. We now have two health insurance programs available. But if teachers want a third alternative or want to replace one, I will argue the matter with the board.
>
> I have also this past year been involved in counseling a teacher accused in a morals case. [Petrey did not want to identify the specific act but the only case during the past year was that of indecent exposure by a teacher after school hours and away from the school grounds, but in a field where children were playing.] There was no question of the man's guilt, and the district was proceeding to have his certificate rescinded.

> I didn't think he should be rode out of the teaching profession forever, although he obviously had to resign from the school and the district. So I counseled him to fight back, at least enough to be able to hold on to his certificate. The principal at the school had had other sensitive personnel problems prior to the incident which he did not act on so I advised the teacher to tell the district he would "blow the lid" on the other problems if they didn't go easy on him.

The association's effectiveness is most visible to its members at the time of contract negotiations. Teachers' right to membership in organizations representing them and the negotiating relationship between such organizations and a school board are specified in the state education code as follows:

> Except as otherwise provided by the Legislature, public school employees shall have the right to form, join, and participate in the activities of employee organizations of their own choosing for the purpose of representation on all matters of employer-employee relations. Public school employees shall also have the right to refuse to join or participate in the activities of employee organizations and shall have the right to represent themselves individually in their employment relations with the public school employer.
>
> Employee organizations shall have the right to represent their members in their employment relations with public school employers. Employee organizations may establish reasonable restrictions regarding who may join and may make reasonable provisions for the dismissal of individuals from membership. Nothing in this section shall prohibit any employee from appearing in his own behalf in his employment relations with the public school employer.
>
> The scope of representation shall include all matters relating to employment conditions and employer-employee relations, including, and not limited to wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment.
>
> A public school employer or the governing board thereof, or such administrative officer as it may designate, shall meet and confer [italics added] with representatives of employee organizations upon request with regard to all matters relating to employment conditions and employer-employee relations, and in addition, shall meet and confer with representatives of employee organizations representing certificated employees upon request with regard to all matters relating to the definition of educational objectives, the determination of the content of courses and curricula, the selection of textbooks, and other aspects of the instructional program to the extent such matters are within the discretion of the public school employer or

> governing board under the law. The designation of an administrative officer as provided herein shall not preclude an employee organization from meeting with, appearing before, or making proposals to the public school employer at a public meeting if the employee organization requests such a public meeting.

The "meet and confer" clause is anathema to the association (and to the Federation of Teachers), because it does not require a school board to engage in genuine bargaining; "to negotiate in good faith" is the phrase they would prefer. Nevertheless, the legislation sanctions a negotiating council as the means for conferring with a board over various educational matters. The membership of a negotiating council is to be no less than five and no more than nine. If there is more than one teacher's organization, representation on the council is assigned proportionally based on each organization's membership. To be assigned representation, an organization has to declare its membership, and, if required, provide a membership list and information on the status of officers in the organization and their access to "work locations." The Dennison Federation of Teachers (DFT) is not represented on the council, because it does not choose to reveal its membership, so the negotiating council is composed exclusively of DUDTA representatives. For all practical purposes the association membership is already officially recorded, since the district offers a dues check-off system, and most teachers use it. (The fourteen teachers who are members of the DUDTA all use it.)

The DUDTA also represents the interests of district administrative personnel not attached to the central office, because their salary schedule is tied in with the teachers'; when the teachers receive a percentage increase, the same percentage accrues to administrative personnel. The salaries of the latter are affected by other incremental determinations, including, of course, years of experience and graduate study. For example, Larry Vincent's work year is three weeks longer than that of his teachers. For each week he gets an extra 3 percent of his base salary. In addition there is a responsibility ratio based on the number of teachers a principal supervises (which is also a function of student enrollment). This increment ranges from 10 percent to 28 percent; for Larry it is approximately 16 percent. The interconnection between administrative and

teacher salaries has in recent years been viewed with disfavor by the school board; they think administrative salaries are already generous and think merit considerations should play a larger role in the determination of increases. This issue comes up periodically but is never resolved. There has been no agitation on the part of administrators for change. Hence the average 6.2 percent pay raise granted teachers at the beginning of the year also applies to them.

While the pay raise granted was less than asked for by the DULTA (the negotiating council had asked for an 8.5 percent increase for a starting teacher with a bachelor's degree), Calhoun teachers were pleased with the raise. It did not diminish their support of the association, nor did it necessarily increase their interest in more active participation in DUDTA. Laura Engle has been the Calhoun representative to DUDTA for several years. She decided to step down at the end of the year and at a faculty meeting asked for a volunteer to take her place. There was no immediate response. Someone suggested drawing lots. Laura said if she couldn't get a volunteer, she'd turn the job over to Larry to find a replacement. Finally, Diana Atwood and Nancy Leacock volunteered to serve together.

The Dennison Federation of Teachers

The president of the DFT is Jason Melville, a senior high school social studies teacher. Since no member of the Calhoun faculty belongs to the DFT, most of the information about the goals, activities, and membership of the organization comes from an interview with Melville. I had become accustomed to initiating each new interview with a review of my background and the design and intent of my study. Melville led me through this phase with a series of intense questions, including a request to see my credentials. (I had a battered university I.D. card). He wished to make certain I was not affiliated with a research organization that had recently completed a study of teachers in the district. Melville claimed the report publicized information adverse to the interests of some teachers in the union, so he was suspicious.

When I telephoned to request the interview with Melville, he had said that he would not provide information on membership, and he explained this position in the interview.

> It is contrary to the bylaws of our chapter. We cannot be sure how administrators will treat teachers if they know they belong to a union. In some districts union members have a tough time. I don't know that that is true in Dennison. I've heard some talk of it, although I've never been discriminated against in my high school, and they know how active I am. At any rate, most members here prefer that the membership list be kept secret; some don't even want a list circulated among the members for fear it might get out. Another reason is not to discourage people from joining. If they know how small we are, they might figure it's not worth it. Maybe when we get bigger, we'll announce the membership.

The members, he says, are primarily male high school teachers with tenure and reputations as good teachers, "a tough, dedicated group not easily intimidated by administrators." (Mark Petrey had reported that membership in the DUDTA is higher among elementary and junior high teachers and that many more women are providing leadership in the association. The federation does not have the resources of DUDTA, but it serves all teachers in the district through the arguments and data it develops in support of higher salaries and improved teaching conditions. One important way it serves its own members is by defending them--when necessary providing legal assistance--against charges brought by the administration. (In the two most widely publicized cases of teacher-administration conflict during the past year, the teachers, both men, were members of the federation, and their legal assistance was provided by the federation. The same principal was involved in both cases.) Melville does not, however, see the federation as beset on all sides by antagonists. He thinks the DUDTA is too conservative, but the federation cooperates with it on such issues as salary increases and grievance procedures. He says both the central administration and the school board have a healthy respect for the federation.

* * *

Together the three organizations are a versatile instrument of teacher representation that no one of them could provide alone. The regularity of assembly meetings creates a forum through which the superintendent can be monitored until issues are satisfactorly clarified or resolved. The fact that the assembly is largely the superintendent's creation is to his credit; his role does not appear to inhibit the exchange that develops each month. The association is the established teachers' organization,

and because of its size, ties with state and national groups, and designation as the official bargaining agent for teachers it can exercise both political influence and legal authority in furthering the interests of teachers. The federation is the most independent and is therefore able to take more radical positions on issues.

Teachers and the School Board

Dennison has a seven-member school board, five men and two women. The chairman, Dr. Dexter Santee, is a pathologist with a chicken breeder firm. Virginia Schmidt is the wife of a surgeon; Richard Cameron, a budget analyst with an electronics firm; Celia Juarez, the wife of a retired businessman; Joseph Guthrie, the owner of a winery; Wayne McDowell, an electrical contractor, and Stanley Lusk, director of a large shopping center in Dennison.

Board members are elected by the community at large, but each must run from the area in which he resides. Dennison is divided into seven trustee areas that reflect the boundaries of the preunification elementary school districts. Members serve for three-year terms. Interim vacancies are filled by the board, but these appointments have to be approved by the Jefferson County School Superintendent. When a vacancy occurs the board is required to publicize it in the area affected and ask for written nominations. Cameron is the newest member of the board; he was appointed in March 1968 to fill a vacancy caused by a resignation. The board received six nominations; two housewives; a realtor; a meteorologist; a lawyer; and Cameron, a budget analyst. In a special closed session, the board interviewed each of the nominees and selected Cameron. A vacancy the previous year produced no nominations in the first three weeks after the announcement. Board members set out to locate a candidate through friends in the area where the vacancy occured, found Guthrie, and persuaded him to serve.

All the present members originally became school board members by appointment. They all report that they were persuaded by the board members of friends of board members to fill vacancies, and they all chose

at the end of the interim term to run for a full term and, later, for re-election. (The three present interim appointees say they will also run for full terms.) The average length of service of the seven members is slightly under eight years. The four board members presently serving elected terms were members of elementary district school boards in the area before unification and with unification chose to run for election to the new board. They insist that contribution to the welfare of the community is their motive for serving on the board, deny any political ambitions, and wish there were more competition for positions on the board. Campaigns, they report, are neither expensive nor time consuming: twelve to fifteen dollars for an ad announcing candidacy and attendance at meetings arranged by community groups to hear their views.

Interviews with board members were conducted during a period that included contract negotiations, and the subject was very much on their minds. During the process they are forced to think about who the teachers are, what they want, and how they ought to try to get it. There is a striking consensus within the board on this and other questions. Longevity and vacancies filled by the board have created a compatibility with which they are pleased and a broad representation of special interests and experience. Celia Jaurez represents the Spanish-Americans and has long experience in labor relations. Richard Cameron's obvious specialization is budget analysis; McDowell's, construction; Lusk's classified personnel. Guthrie and the other businessmen bring their experience to bear on financial questions facing the board. Virginia Schmidt, who is a graduate of a prominent eastern college, and Dexter Santee, who has a Ph.D., are expected to give more attention to questions of curriculum and specialized programs. This is what they refer to as "balance" within the board.

Wayne McDowell's remarks about negotiation reflect the views of the board.

> The Jansen Act has had considerable influence on our relations with teachers. It calls for a board to meet and confer with a negotiating council. It was passed, I feel, to force conversative, recalcitrant boards to consult with teachers on issues of salary, benefits, educational programs, and so on.

But the act has created problems. Teacher organizations naturally want to put the emphasis on negotiations. They want to sit down and work out agreements. But we want to confer; we want to hear teachers, react to their suggestions, give them our thinking, and then make our own decision. Right now the movement is in the other direction; there's going to be more negotiating and less conferring. I kind of regret it; some day there's going to be all the trappings of union-management negotiations leading maybe to arbitration. I don't think a school board should get into that kind of relationship with teachers.

But I don't resent the teachers' interest in negotiating. They're out to get what they can and that's natural way to go about it. Right now on salaries the negotiating council is asking for a 9 percent increase; we have offered 5 percent, and it is likely to wind up at 7 percent unless state aid is reduced. But we're going to wait until we are absolutely sure how much money is coming in. Previously the salary increase was fixed rather early and then sometimes extra monies would come in from the state. Then we'd catch hell from the teachers who figured such money should have been anticipated and included in the increase. It was a bad negotiating procedure and bad publicity for the board. Now salary decisions are sometimes delayed a long time, but that problem isn't so bad.

One thing is sure. I get the message on what teachers want first of all. Two years ago rather than increase salaries as much as teachers wanted we cut class size from thirty to twenty-eight or thirty-two to thirty. We did it because teachers had placed this high on their priorities of changes. But then when the salary increases they were expecting didn't come through, they yelled. It taught me what their priorities really are.

I must say the teachers who have been in the district a long time probably have a legitimate gripe over salaries. We try to keep the starting salary high enough to compete with other districts in attracting good teachers. To do this we can't be as competitive in the salary range of teachers with extended service in the district.

As McDowell says, the board is required to meet and confer with the negotiating council. The mode of conferring irritates the council; in most of the sessions the board is represented by Associate Superintendent Jack Bryson who is to convey board thinking on major negotiation issues to the council and convey the council's point of view to the board. The council thinks it's a poor arrangement, because basically Bryson is just a messenger.

Board members say that when they visit classrooms and talk to teachers, they get a different impression of what they are like and are interested in; when they talk about teachers and teaching, they do not manifest the same consensus that characterizes their views on negotiations. McDowell feels that a large majority of teachers in the district are dedicated people and generally good teachers. Santee is concerned about professionalism, He says he doesn't quite understand why teachers are so sensitive to criticism; he also doesn't understand why teachers think they are the only ones who can judge whether they're good teachers. Santee says he doesn't think it is difficult to identify good or poor teaching--once there is a record of what the teacher has done and is doing and how the students perform and feel about the teacher.

Schmidt says identifying good teachers is a very complicated process. A person would have to observe a teacher frequently, talk to the students, look at their progress, and probably investigate further before deciding whether a teacher is good. Juarez agrees and says the way it is now, it is almost impossible to fire even a incompetent teacher. Guthrie thinks there ought to be a merit system so that good teachers can be rewarded, but he is not sure how to determine good teaching.

Apart from issues of dismissal that are carried to the board, the members report they seldom have the performance of an individual teacher brought to their attention by parents. Parental inquiries are infrequent, and with one exception there is no consistent pattern in the inquiries board members report. That exception is the increased number of calls during contract negotiations--from parents asking if salary increases will require a tax increase. Santee says parents seldom contact for other reasons, but when they do, it is usually about a decision or action by an administrator, such as a disciplinary action taken by a principal or a change in attendance boundaries authorized by the superintendent. Schmidt says the calls she gets usually involve facilities, e.g., to ask at what school a new swimming pool is to be located or to inform her of the need to rehabilitiate a classroom wing or building. Juarez reports that most of her calls during the past year concerned the poor national showing the district made on reading scores. McDowell reports that his

parental contacts primarily concern problems children are having in school; in most cases these inquiries come after parents have talked with the teacher and the principal and have not been satisfied. McDowell directs the parent to some official in the district, if not the principal, then an assistant superintendent or even the superintendent. He says the board's main function is to set policy, not to implement it, so he tries to move all such inquiries "back into the system."

Teachers and the News Media

During the school year 1967-68, ninety-four items on school district matters appeared in the Dennison morning paper. Approximately 40 percent of the items dealt with financial matters, such as tax rates, budgets, bond issues, new construction and equipment, and salary increases; 25 percent with personnel matters exclusive of salary decisions, such as teacher dismissal cases and new board appointments; 18 percent with programs, including reading scores, modular scheduling, and changes in vocational education programs; and 15 percent with youth, mainly dress code and drugs.

It is difficult to ascertain what specific effect news media coverage of school affairs has on Calhoun teachers. Whatever development a reporter picks up and follows might have proceeded in much the same way with less public visibility. However, the teachers believe that in certain instances news coverage does make a difference. For example, they believe the increased attention of the central office to Calhoun's reading program can be partially explained by the publicity about low reading scores illustrated in the following news story:

"Dennison Students Below Par"

> Scores from the 1967 state-wide reading tests place Dennison students far below national levels for the second time in as many years, Dennison Unified School District officials revealed yesterday.
>
> The test results showed that of the state students 58 percent of the first graders, 46 percent of the second graders, and 43 percent of the third graders all fell below the bottom-most "quartile" or the 25 percent bracket.

Dennison's scores were 42.7 percent, 39 percent, and 36 percent, respectively, for first, second, and third graders. This was a substantial improvement over 1966, however, when 53 percent of the first graders and 43 percent of the second graders scored below the bottom cutoff point. No tests were given in the third grade level during that year.

* * *

Despite Dennison's poor showing on a nationwide basis, the school district managed to achieve one of the highest scores on a statewide basis. Of the first graders, 43 percent placed above the top or third quartile; of the second graders, 32 percent, and of the third graders, 15 percent.

Last year, Dennison's low test results prompted three mothers from the Jones Elementary School to demand an investigation of the district reading programs. Both citizens and district committees were set up to tackle the problem.

However, Dennison Unified School District officials deny there is a problem. Harold Jacobs, assistant superintendent, said test scores of pupils in the higher grades tend to equal or even surpass the national levels. "I can't see that there is anything wrong with our reading curriculum," he remarked.

* * *

Jacobs says the tests concentrate heavily on phonetics in the first and second grades, but in Dennison the emphasis on phonetics doesn't come until the third grade. Other variables in the testing must also be considered in any comparisons, he added.

As a result of figures released yesterday, the district will conduct a study starting next week in an effort to root out the causes of the low scores.

The study, to be conducted in a dozen schools, will determine if progress in reading is being made at the upper grade levels or if there is a deficiency that persists from the primary grades. Jacobs believes the results will solve much of the reading controversy.

Dennison school officials yesterday hastily assured parents that the tests do not reflect the long range effectiveness of current reading programs in the district.

One can assume that news coverage of a conflict in which teachers are protagonists forces into the public domain more information about the conflict than might otherwise have been provided. Hence, teachers obtain more insight into the nature of the teaching experience whether

or not they are direct parties to the conflict. They may, of course, be directly affected if the resolution of the conflict includes a change in administrative procedure.[2]

* * *

For Calhoun teachers the "district" context of their experience is an uneasy equilibrium of contending voices. Each voice represents, by virtue of specialization or administrative responsibility, sufficient authority to command the teachers' attention. Each presumes to play a functional role in providing teachers with pedagogical expertise and is therefore dependent on teachers for legitimation. Ultimately judgments about the competence of everyone in the system depends on the progress of students. When a school's constituency is satisfied with that progress, by whatever measure, it is generally content that the teachers are effective and that therefore the system hierarchy is too. We have already seen, however, that from the teachers' point of view this hierarchy by no means insures them expert support. This is true even though the district does not limit itself to the efforts described in this chapter. It also participates in a number of state and federally financed programs directed at helping teachers and effecting changes in their classroom procedures. Nevertheless a basic condition of the teachers' experience within the district is the unproductive nature of the interdependent relationship between themselves and the district hierarchy.

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[2]For the second straight year, a junior high principal was involved in a well-publicized conflict with one of his teachers; in this case, the teacher, represented by the Dennison Federation of Teachers, initiated a grievance charge. Since the district had no written grievance policy, the personnel director reviewed the case and exonerated the principal, an outcome that Calhoun teachers considered inevitable. Subsequently, a district grievance policy supported by both the teachers' association and the federation was adopted by the board. (See Appendix B for news coverage of the conflict.)

Summary

The subject of this ethnographic study is the teaching experience in an elementary school. I have tried to reconstruct this experience from the teacher's point of view. In the Introduction I set forth the thesis that a dominant aspect of this experience is isolation within the various contexts in which teaching takes place. In the chapters that followed, the experience of Calhoun teachers within each of these contexts--the classroom, the parental community, the school, and the district--was described, with primary attention on the functioning relationship between the process of teaching and its ideological and organizational framework.

One might argue that isolation is the antithesis of the teaching experience and that in reality teaching is one of the most public roles in our culture. We all encounter it as students, and we are persuaded as parents and taxpayers that the local control of school systems allows us sufficient opportunity to monitor the teacher's role. Furthermore, though we view this role as instrumental to cultural maintenance and to the present and future welfare of our children, we do not accord it special privilege or high social status. In brief, we are ambivalent about teaching, perhaps because, although we believe that teachers are important, we have learned that schools are dull. And, in any case, once we leave school our encounters with the teaching experience are mainly peripheral. They seldom penetrate to the teaching act itself, when the teacher is directing the pupil's attention to a matter he deems consequential.

The experience of Calhoun teachers shows us how "private" teaching is. Seldom was there an intervention--by the principal, parents, school board, or fellow teachers--that actually affected their classroom behavior.

There are, of course, degrees of privacy, and one goal of the present educational reform movement is to eliminate or appreciably modify privacy. Openness in structure and organization, curriculum programs in which pupils proceed relatively independently, and formalized participation in classroom life by parents presumably will affect the nature of the teaching experience, because at the very least they will affect the modes and frequency of

interaction among the various populations of a school. Whether these and other reforms will fundamentally change the teaching experience is a question for both theoretical and practical inquiry. In the midst of such inquiry, it is a major point of this study that those who chose to teach should be prepared to engage in a lonely search for fulfillment.

Appendix A

CRITERIA AND EXPLANATION SHEET TO
ACCOMPANY THE TEACHER EVALUATION FORM

The Dennison Unified School District has developed this appraisal form to assist in the evaluation of personnel competencies.

The intent of the district appraisal of its personnel is three fold:

1. To identify the standards and conditions of professional service desirable in this school system.

2. To help up-grade through professional counseling the job performance of its certificated personnel.

3. To help the administration in deciding upon the desirability of a change in assignment and/or re-election.

The principal has the responsibility for evaluating all certificated personnel within his school. A copy of his completed recommendation will be forwarded to the district personnel office to become part of each teacher's file.

The principal may hold more than the prescribed two evaluations if, in his opinion, they would, in any way, be beneficial to either the person or the interest of the school district.

The principal is required to confer with each teacher after every evaluation and to go over the completed instrument with the teacher involved. Only in this way may an honest and a mutually beneficial appraisal be made.

The material contained in this folder was developed to assist the teacher in understanding the basis for administrative evaluation. Each main topic is accompanied by a list of desirable criteria.

The evaluator is to rate on the basis of one numerical score for each major category, i.e., Instructional Skills, Class Management, etc. It is recommended that observation reports and other data which contributed to the evaluation rating be well documented in writing.

I. INSTRUCTIONAL SKILLS

A. Planning, preparation and organization

1. Is skilled in identifying learning difficulties; provides effective relevant instruction for individuals and groups.
2. Plans assignment with student's abilities in mind so as to permit each person to work according to his needs plus group assignments in various areas.
3. Develops goals with class and plans cooperatively for their obtainment.

B. Knowledge of subject matter

1. Evidences thoroughness in background and resourcefulness in use.

C. Methods of presentation

1. Shows evidence of abundant and varied creative activites for all students.
2. Students have maximum opportunity for discussion and participation in activities.
3. Evidences skill in relating subject matter to its current application by providing opportunities for utilization.

D. Use of instructional materials

1. Makes effective use of a wide variety of well-selected materials.

E. Motivation of pupils

1. Provides an environment in which students are encouraged to explore different opinions and judgments.
2. Always open to pupil suggestion, encourages expressions of different opinions.
3. Encourages each student to appraise his own progress and suggests means of self-improvement in individual and group conferences.

F. Teacher-pupil relationship

1. Students frequently seek out this teacher for counseling on both personal and instructional problems.
2. Shows an active concern for all of the individual needs of the child (scholastic, social, emotional, physical).

II. CLASS MANAGEMENT

A. Class control

1. An atmosphere of industrious self-regulation consistently maintained.
2. Provides an atmosphere of cooperation and morale so high that behavior problems seldom occur.

B. Growth in self-discipline of pupils

1. Volunteer to accept responsibilities and evaluations for their own conduct in a wide variety of activities.
2. Spirit of cooperation and interest in each other's welfare which prevails with high morale.

C. Appearance of room
   1. Teacher and student share in planning and arranging stimulating centers of interest that have definite relations to learning activities.

D. Reports and records
   1. Keeps highly adequate (accurate) accumulative records, evaluates progress in each pupil and adjusts the program accordingly.

III. PERSONAL QUALITIES

A. Personal grooming
   1. Dress and grooming are tasteful and appropriate.

B. Health
   1. Possess health adequate to carry out daily assignments as indicated by vitality, alertness, and good attendance.

C. Emotional stability
   1. Reacts well under duress or tension; is not rigid or unbending in attitudes.

D. Communicative skills
   1. Speaks with a pleasant, well-modulated voice, articulates well, writes and uses correct English in oral and written expression, and has a minimum amount of distracting mannerisms.

E. Adaptability and reliability
   1. Has ability to evaluate his subject area and program as it relates to the total school program and adjusts it accordingly.
   2. Is open-minded and perceptive rather than complacent and satisfied.
   3. Demonstrates willingness to accept responsibility and shows ability to perform with a minimum of direction.
   4. Analyzes problem areas and designs procedures to remedy such problems.

IV. PROFESSIONALISM

A. Observance of professional ethics
   1. Seeks guidance and help from curriculum leaders, administrators, counselors, or other available resources.
   2. Is considerate and courteous.
   3. Maintains high standard of personal integrity.
   4. Protects professional rights and dignities of others.
   5. Adheres to ethical principles and demonstrates pride in the profession.
   6. Uses mature judgment in reaching personal and professional decisions and/or actions.

B. Professional growth
   1. Shows growing proficiency in his teaching field.
   2. Keeps abreast of new teaching techniques through continued study and research.
   3. Actively participates in the development of sound educational programs.

C. Interest in staff and student activities
   1. Cooperates with administrative leadership and shows interest and initiative in school staff activities.
   2. Demonstrates an appropriate degree of interest and concern for student activities.
   3. Assumes responsibility for providing leadership and supervision relative to staff and student activities.

D. Staff relationships
   1. Exchanges creative ideas with other professional people.
   2. Follows proper channels of communication.
   3. Expresses facts and opinions only after thoughtful consideration.
   4. Discusses school problems with the appropriate personnel.

E. Parent relationships
   1. Contributes to sound home/school relations, gains the respect and cooperation of parents.
   2. Has an understanding of home and personal problems that affect learning.
   3. Has the ability to identify situations that call for parent contact and initiates communications with parents accordingly.

Appendix B

NEWS COVERAGE OF GRIEVANCE CHARGES

NOTE: Fictitious names have been substituted for the real names in all of the following news stories.

March 18, 1968

UNION CHARGES THREAT TO
FIRE SECOND TEACHER

Another teacher at Everetts Junior High School in Dennison has been threatened with dismissal over alleged teaching misconduct, according to an official grievance filed against the school principal by the Dennison Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO).

The union, which last year went to court over the firing of science teacher Robert Matte, charges that reading instructor Henry Barker has been "harassed" during the past four years by his principal Peter Hewitt.

After the formal grievance was initiated in January, there were reports from parents that Everetts School administrators were calling in Barker's students individually and asking them to sign written statements against their teacher, according to Ramsay Wilkie, president of the federation.

"It is difficult to believe that these latest incidents are not efforts to build up a case against Mr. Barker," Wilkie said.

* * *

The six-page grievance, which was sent to Dennison Unified School District officials, claims that:

. "In the spring of 1965, Mr. Hewitt accused Mr. Barker of inculcating students with Roman Catholicism according to an alleged complainant" whose identity was not disclosed. Barker is Jewish.

. In the same year, "Mr. Hewitt reprimanded Mr. Barker for the use of the novel Gone With the Wind in class since in his opinion this book was "lewd and immoral."

. On Oct. 8, 1966, "Mr. Hewitt informed Mr. Barker that To Kill A Mockingbird is unsuited for use in school and ordered him not to use this book because of immoral passages and suggestive remarks.

Both novels are on the recommended reading list of the scholastic book services and are Pulitzer Prize winners. "We are most astonished that Mr. Hewitt sees himself in a position of playing the censor to books of nationally recognized quality," the union said.

In a letter dated Nov. 10, 1967, sent by the principal to Barker, the teacher was told "that some students and parents have complained about you talking about things related to sex, religion and the like."

* * *

The federation asserts that Hewitt violated "established district policy" by not confronting Barker with letters or written statements from the complainants. "We consider it highly unprofessional to subject a teacher to this kind of criticism" without following district rules, the union said.

In the same directive, Hewitt allegedly claims that Barker left school 18 minutes early one day and on another occasion failed to attend a departmental meeting. Barker said he was ill one time and on the other instance could not attend the conference due to a previously scheduled medical appointment. The principal also charged Barker with being late to school in the mornings.

"In my judgement the above mentioned problems are to be considered unprofessional conduct on your part," Hewitt wrote. "Failure to comply with my suggestions will be considered as insubordination," he added.

The federation demanded that Hewitt retract the letter, "cease and desist from the continuous harassment of Mr. Barker, and comply with the district procedure concerning the criticism of the teaching staff."

Barker and members of the grievance committee met with Hewitt on Jan. 25, where the teacher said the assault upon his conduct "is unfounded and a dangerous accusation," according to a written statement.

* * *

Barker also said there were several instances when he arrived on time at school and the office doors were locked. He added that the principal's alleged book restrictions amounted to "an attempt to stifle academic freedom."

After the union was informed by letter from Hewitt that no retraction would be forthcoming, the grievance was sent to district assistant Supt. Harold Jacobs, who wrote back saying "that Mr. Hewitt has acted appropriately in his role as evaluator and supervisor of his staff."

Since the district has no written grievance policy, the union next appealed to District Superintendent Robert Baker, who in turn passed the matter on to his new personnel director, Dr. Francis Gross. The grievance is still with Gross.

However, Wilkie charges that "the long lapse of time between our grievance and the lack of action are not simply bureaucratic failures but an attempt to whitewash the thing."

"We are deeply concerned with the educational interests of the students and the integrity of the school system," he said.

March 20, 1968

"HARASSED" TEACHER WILL GET
GRIEVANCE HEARING MARCH 26

A hearing date of March 26 has been set by Dennison School District officials for action on a teacher-harassment grievance filed by the Dennison Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO).

Harold Jacobs, district assistant superintendent for secondary education, who announced the hearing date yesterday, said that the decision-maker in the case would be Dr. Francis Gross, district personnel director.

* * *

The federation charges that a teacher at Everetts Junior High School, Henry Barker, has been harassed for the past four years by the administration at the school, namely, principal Peter Hewitt.

Subsequent to the grievance, according to Ramsay Wilkie, president of the teacher's union, students from Barker's class were called into administration offices and were asked to sign written statements against their teacher.

But Jacobs said yesterday that there was no indication that the statements taken from the students had anything to do with a move against Barker.

A student from one of Barker's classes went to Hewitt, Jacobs said, with a complaint against Barker, and Hewitt told the youth that if he had a complaint he should put it into writing.

Then, according to Jacobs, Hewitt showed the written complaint to Barker for his response and then turned it over to vice principal William Stevens for verification.

Gross said that he was placing the findings of the hearing in a "top-priority" category for his consideration but could not say when a district-level judgment in the case would be made.

Gross had closed the hearing to the public even though Ramsay Wilkie, president of the Dennison Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) had said his organization would welcome observers....

May 1, 1968

TEACHER'S GRIPE GETS HEAVE-HO

The Dennison Unified School District yesterday threw out a grievance filed by the Dennison Federation of Teachers on behalf of a teacher who claims he was threatened and harassed by his school principal.

But in a seven-page analysis of the six-page grievance, Dr. Francis Gross, personnel director of the district, said that the grievant, Henry Barker of Everetts Junior High School, was right on the third item of the grievance--that district policy in dealing with parent-student complaints against a teacher must be presented in writing.

* * *

But Gross's analysis, which has been seven weeks in the making, said that the "basic question" of this third issue was whether school principal Peter Hewitt acted in a manner that was inappropriate in implementing district policy "compared to the usual practices of other principals in the district."

Gross concluded that it was not.

Ramsay Wilkie, the union's representative for Barker at a hearing March 26, yesterday took issue with what he saw as Gross' conclusion "that the school principal had acted properly in writing a letter to Barker indicating that he had received several complaints against the teacher."

* * *

Wilkie said the conclusion would be in opposition to a statement made April 1 by District Superintendent Robert Baker, that "a complaint against a teacher which has no documentation must be viewed as not having substance."

He was referring to a letter to Barker from Hewitt dated Nov. 10, 1967, in which Hewitt based several "suggestions" to the teacher on the fact that several students and parents had complained about alleged referrals in the classroom by Barker, a reading teacher, to "sex, religion and the like."

Stevens then proceeded to check out the complaint by calling several of Barker's students into the school office to take statements from them regarding the teacher.

Wilkie charges that Hewitt violated district policy by involving students in teacher evaluations.

March 26, 1968

BOARD SETS SPECIAL HEARING
WITH TEACHERS' FEDERATION

A showdown is slated today between Dennison Unified School District officials and representatives of the Dennison Federation of Teachers, (AFL-CIO), over alleged harassment of an Everetts Junior High School teacher.

The various grievances will be aired at a special hearing today involving complaints filed by the federation on behalf of Henry Barker.

Formally issued in January, the six-page grievance charges that Barker, a reading teacher at Everetts Junior High School, has been "harassed" during the past four years by his principal, Peter Hewitt.

Harold Jacobs, assistant superintendent for secondary education, said yesterday that the purpose of the hearing will be to give Barker and his representative, Ramsay Wilkie, president of the Dennison Teachers' Federation, an opportunity to "spell out" the nature of the grievance to Dr. Francis Gross, district personnel director.

* * *

But the district plans no offensive at the hearing, and Jacobs said that after listening to the grievance, Gross would, "in due time," respond to the union in writing to declare whether he has found the grievance well founded.

Jacobs said that he and Hewitt would attend the hearing.

March 27, 1968

CHANCES SEEM FAIR IN TEACHER'S CASE

Dennison Unified School District Personnel Director Francis Gross reported after yesterday's teacher-grievance hearing that Everetts Junior High School teacher Henry Barker had acknowledged having had a fair chance to state his case.

Wilkie said yesterday that he planned to send Gross' analysis of the grievance appeal to the union's attorney for legal analysis. He said that appropriate steps would be taken after such consultation.

* * *

"I come to the conclusion," Wilkie said, "that Dr. Gross quite obviously decided to back up a principal against a teacher without considering too much the rights or wrongs of the case."

The union, which last year went to court over the firing of science teacher Robert Matte, who taught at the same school under Hewitt, charged on Barker's behalf that the teacher was harassed over an alleged tardiness record and for the use of reading matter that Hewitt termed "lewd and immoral."

Gross ended his findings yesterday by remarking that "the case clearly indicates the need for a district grievance procedure which incorporates features designed to facilitate the early resolution of grievances."